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Richard Walsh, *Editor*
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THE ARMORIAL

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SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN'S ADVICE TO CECILIUS CALVERT, SECOND LORD BALTIMORE: A LETTER OF 1639

Edited by EDWARD C. CARTER, II

BY the late summer of 1639, Charles I's attempt to enforce the Anglican Service in Presbyterian Scotland had ended in humiliation for the English monarch. The ten years of non-parliamentary rule, financed by forced loans and ship-money, were drawing to a close.¹ Charles unhappily realized that without the support of the English gentry and the taxes voted by Parliament his government was but a wisp of smoke, and that he could not maintain the law much less discipline the stiff-

¹ The freemen of Maryland observed the ten year hiatus of Parliament, and passed in 1639 legislation which provided for the calling of the Assembly at least once every three years. Matthew P. Andrews, *The History of Maryland* (Garden City, 1929), p. 70.

necked Calvinists to the north. Hence Parliament was recalled in 1640, but that body, before it would vote the needed supply, demanded that Charles guarantee that his unconstitutional excesses would not be repeated, and that he would put aside his unfriendly attitude towards such Protestant nations as Scotland and the Netherlands. This attack upon his prerogative the Stuart king would not admit, and in the end, Parliament's attempt to so limit Charles produced the English Civil War.

The crisis engulfing the King also threatened his loyal subject Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore. The Scottish fiasco was denounced by the Puritans as a step in Archbishop Laud's program for reuniting Canterbury and Rome. There was a demand for the strict enforcement of the recusancy laws² which would have thrown the affairs of the Catholic Lord Baltimore once again into confusion. Only during the previous year, had his long-standing conflict with Captain William Claiborne over Kent Island been brought to a happy issue with the confirmation of Baltimore's title to the place by the Lords Commissioners of Plantations.³ Thus faced with a rising tide of religious prejudice, burdened with the management of his lands in England, Ireland, and Maryland, Cecilius Calvert received, in September of 1639, a letter from Sir Edmund Plowden disclosing new threats to the Palatinate of Maryland.⁴

The author of this communication was a member of one of the most prominent Catholic families in England. Plowden had been an acquaintance of Cecilius's father, George Calvert, the First Lord Baltimore, and perhaps the example of that august gentleman led Sir Edmund to petition Charles I early in 1632 for a grant of land to be held as a county palatine "within the bounds of Virginia" near the thirty-ninth parallel.⁵ The charter was formally issued on June 21, 1634, under the Great Seal of Ireland and enrolled in Dublin; it created Plow-

² This was legislation that penalized those who failed to conform to the Church of England.

³ Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 vols.; New Haven, 1936), II, 306.

⁴ I am greatly indebted to Mr. Clifford Lewis 3rd of Media, Pa., for drawing this document to my attention, and further for his scholarly transcription of the letter, which appears below, that he made in the course of his research on Plowden's New Albion some twenty years ago.

⁵ *Calendar State Papers, Colonial* (1574-1660), p. 154 (60).

den Earl Palatine of the Province of New Albion.⁶ With that honor, Plowden received all the regal powers of government which had passed to Lord Baltimore under his charter. The limits of New Albion were also spelled out in the instrument, and modern studies indicate that the boundaries of Maryland and New Albion were not contiguous but overlapped. This interpretation locates the north east corner of Sir Edmund's holding at Newark Bay; the boundary runs south to Sandy Hook, and then follows the New Jersey shore to Cape May. The southern line travels west through Kent Island to Washington. From that point, the western boundary extends north for a distance of one hundred and twenty miles before executing a ninety degree turn to the east and returns to Newark Bay. The reason for this double grant of territory may have been to encourage rapid settlement on the Delaware as a bulwark against the New Amsterdam Dutch.⁷ Therefore, Lord Baltimore and Sir Edmund Plowden, both English Catholics, shared a mutual interest in lands west of the Delaware between the thirty-ninth and fortieth parallels.

In his letter, Plowden touches on many salient political, social, and economic problems that plagued early Virginia and Maryland. He commenced his recital by informing Lord Baltimore that four men had applied to him for land in New Albion. Two of these, William Claiborne and Samuel Matthews, were ancient foes of the Calvert family. Both aided in driving George Calvert from Virginia in 1629 when he failed to take the Oath of Supremacy because of his faith;⁸ both vigorously lobbied against the issuance of the Maryland Charter in 1632.⁹ Claiborne engaged in open warfare with Maryland in his at-

⁶ The enrolled copy was destroyed in the Four Courts Fire in 1921, but a certified copy of the charter was made in 1880, and reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (PMBH), VII (1883), 55-66.

⁷ For a full discussion of the charter powers and the boundary thesis see Edward C. Carter and Clifford Lewis, "Sir Edmund Plowden and the New Albion Charter, 1632-1785," *PMHB*, LXXXIII (No. 2, April, 1959).

⁸ The Elizabethan Act of Supremacy, 1559, demanded an oath of all office holders and those persons leaving England that recognized the sovereign as "Supreme Governor of this realm . . . as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." Catholics were naturally unable to subscribe to the second part of the oath, so it was tendered Lord Baltimore to discredit him, and prevent his settling in Virginia. Thomas Scharf, *The History of Maryland* (3 vols.; Baltimore, 1879), I, p. 47.

⁹ John H. Latane, *The Early Relations Between Maryland and Virginia* (Baltimore, 1895), p. 9.

tempt to preserve his hold on Kent Island. The other two men were officials of the Bermuda Company who, growing weary of Plowden's procrastinations, petitioned the Crown for a grant of land between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. Fearful of their success at Court, Sir Edmund had objected to the project on two counts: first that this corporation sought rights traditionally assigned to county palatines,¹⁰ second that it would encroach upon Lord Baltimore's rightful domain.¹¹ Having enumerated the potential threats to Maryland's well being raised by such an undertaking, Sir Edmund begged Lord Baltimore to use all his powerful influence to diminish both the boundaries and powers of the proposed charter. Then Plowden concluded by assuring his friend of his continued sympathy, and predicted he would soon venture to New Albion where he could render Lord Baltimore active support in times of danger.

By nature, Sir Edmund Plowden was not the sort of man who acted solely in the interest of others. One can only speculate as to the motive that lay behind the writing of this letter. Since 1634, he had been held in England by lawsuits and his wife's reluctance to finance the New Albion expedition. Perhaps, he feared that his charter would lapse, and that others would displace him. Thus by cautioning Cecilius Calvert, Plowden hoped to enlist his aid and that of his powerful friends at some future date in defending or even settling New Albion. That Sir Edmund was not above working both sides of the street was demonstrated in 1641, when his first colonizing prospectus

¹⁰ Both Lord Baltimore and Plowden received their palatinates with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by "any Bishop of Durham." This clause was the basis of almost unlimited power. The Bishop of Durham in the fourteenth century held his fief in northern England as a military bulwark against the Scots, and was the ruler of a semi-independent kingdom. Lord Baltimore purposely had the "any Bishop of Durham" clause included because it allowed him the right of subinfeudation, of appointing members of the three branches of government, and of making the laws with the consent of the freemen. The Proprietor could also levy taxes and collect customs at the borders of his palatinate; he had the right of treasure trove and could take the Royal fish, the whale and the sturgeon. For a full study of the palatinate and the Bishop's powers, see Thomas G. Lapsley, *The County Palatine of Durham* (New York, 1900), Chap. VIII.

¹¹ In the Maryland Charter of 1632, the southern boundary followed the south bank of the Potomac River and then traversed the Bay to Watkins Point on the Eastern Shore.

appeared over the signature of Captain William Claiborne, the very man his letter of 1639 denounced.¹²

There is much in the letter to interest the historian and the enlightened lay reader. One can not escape the attitudes towards the social and political structure of seventeenth century England that Sir Edmund's words reveal. Like so many of the gentry, he regarded that symbol of capitalism, the corporation, with fearful scorn as an instrument of the "democraticall" faction. New Albion and Maryland were county palatines "fit for men of honor and in a Monarchicall government" where feudal privilege could recoup lost fortune and check the tide of the future. Most important, this letter illustrates the continuous struggle that Cecilius Calvert carried on to maintain his sovereignty over the Palatinate of Maryland. Never in those early years could he rest in the defense of his charter rights and the civil and religious tranquillity of his province. Only a man of high purpose and great ingenuity could have sustained his cause so well.

Although Charles M. Andrews referred to his document in the second volume of his *The Colonial Period of American History*, it has never appeared in print before. The letter is part of a collection that was presented to the Maryland Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in 1943 by Dr. Hugh H. Young of Baltimore, and that institution has graciously consented to its publication. It is here transcribed as Sir Edmund Plowden wrote it, save that abbreviations have been expanded and some punctuation has been added for the sake of clarity.

My good Lord,

The deputy Governor of Bermudas Mr. Withers and Mr. Gardner a merchant one of the Asistants have been this two monthes sutors to mee for land and to transport into my Province five hundred from the Bermudas which is overpeopled. And Captayne Mathews¹³ of Virginia also to have ten thousand acres and is to transport thence Cattell and one hundred men, Capt. Cleybourne¹⁴ hath been very

¹² The only known copy is in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

¹³ Samuel Matthews (1600-1660) was a member of the Virginia Assembly both under the Stuarts and the Commonwealth. He served on the Council, and from 1652 to 1657 he was in England as an agent of Virginia attempting to recover Maryland. Matthews was the last Governor of Virginia under the Commonwealth, 1658 to 1660. *DAB*, XII, 405-406.

¹⁴ William Claiborne (1587-1677) was a member of the Council of Virginia

earnest to have the like ten thousand acres and to transport one hundred men of his partners¹⁵ and to sit down in the very triangular point of New England Maryland and New Albion neere forty degrees,¹⁶ and have been very earnest to have had a copy of my Patent finding some defect in your Lordships.¹⁷ I having hitherto delayed them I find the Bermudasmen have moved his majesty by my Lord Dorset,¹⁸ and hath granted their sute to have a Grant but as a Corporation of themselves distinct from Virginia and of all that River of Rapahannock with Cinquack and Pawtomeck Land and River on the South or Kings side and with all such Privileges and Regalities as the Patent of Florida to Sir Robbert Heath, Maryland and mine of New Albion hath.¹⁹ But with this Proviso it is granted that if Maryland and New Albion Patents be recalled and resumed then theirs also must cease. I conceive that the Bermuda men Capt. Mathews Capt. Cleybourne and his friends and many other discontents of Virginia joyne together in this new grant and doe intend to sit down in Patowomeck at least fifteen hundred men together speedily. I have urged that our Provinces are Principalities and County Palatines Exempt with all Regalities fit for men of Honor and in a Monarchicall Government not fit for a meane Corporation. And have urged that the River Pawtomeck and the shore on the South side is your Lordships and that they cannot touch your land nor trade or sayle that river but to wrong your Lordship. That your Lordship as Ireland Payeth

and Surveyor of the colony. Charles I appointed him Treasurer of the colony for life after he lost Kent Island. He was Secretary of State under Charles and Cromwell, and was active in the Parliamentary expeditions against Maryland. From 1652 to 1657, he was a member of the Governing Commission of Maryland. *DAB*, IV, 114-115.

¹⁵ These partners may have been the members of Cloberry and Company who were associated with Claiborne in the Kent Island venture, but this seems unlikely as both parties were on very poor terms by 1639.

¹⁶ This location would appear to be near the site of present day Philadelphia at the Juncture of the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers.

¹⁷ The defect in the Maryland Charter may well have been the double grant of territory that has been mentioned above.

¹⁸ Sir Edward Sackville, 4th Earl of Dorset (1591-1652), once served as Governor of the Bermuda Company, was the Lord Chamberlain, and a member of the Privy Council in 1639. *DNB*, XVII, 578-591.

¹⁹ On July 28, 1639, the Commissioners of Plantations received a petition from the Governor and Company of the Somers Islands (Bermuda Company) stating that twenty eight years of overcrowding had made it necessary for five hundred of their number to remove elsewhere. The petition notes that formerly the Company had entered into an agreement with the defunct Virginia Company to acquire lands between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. The petitioners pray the Crown will see fit to grant that land free from the jurisdiction of Virginia. A sub-committee reported favorably on this request on August 10, 1639, no further action is noted. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial (1574-1660)*, p. 301.

costumes,²⁰ may Search command and impose Costumes on all entringe that river. And by theyr cominge your Lordship shall loose the trade of two thousand Indians of that river worth three thousand pounds at least and by theyr faction and great power may have the Indians animated towards and suprise yours unfortified²¹ and the difference of religion will breed jelousy²² and the bounds, wars. And that if theyr graunted land bee more healthy than Virginia and have more liberties and Regularities, this will draw Virginiamen to run thither and Servants to run from theyr masters. And so both Virginia men and your Lordship have just cause to oppose this graunt, and the daunger of so bad neighbors, wishinge them that they will goe on then to leave out our Palatine Regalities, and to sit downe in Rapahannock. And to delay them from proceedinge which they cannot without copy of my Patent as yet it being not heere inrolled,²³ I do beate and intertayne them, Untill I heare your Lordships answer and resolution whether both your Selfe by your great friends and stirrings up any of the Virginians will oppose them and by some reference Get a restraint of bounds and Regalities of this graunt before it passe the Seale. And seinge I intend in person to transport twice as many men as are in Maryland next first spring²⁴ and since there is beetweene Chesepeake bay and Delaware a strait passage all but five miles only of a neck of land, so as wee may meet and helpe each other in twelve houres, and since I am confident your Lordship of the two wilbee best neighbor, which joined with the Respects and friendship I still professed to your noble Father and Father in Law²⁵ and your Lordship as my brother Palatine, [I] desire all love and good neigh-

²⁰ Maryland and New Albion, as Ireland, stood outside the English fiscal system, and all goods entering the motherland from these lands had customs levied upon them.

²¹ Scharf implied that Claiborne incited the Indians to attack the Marylanders soon after their arrival in 1634, Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 106. Later studies show that he was cleared of these charges by a mixed commission composed of men from both colonies. Latane, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

²² This statement refers to the fact that there was a growing Puritan party in both Bermuda and Virginia, and doubtless that faction would not have approved of Lord Baltimore's toleration of both the Anglican and Catholic faiths.

²³ Plowden attempted unsuccessfully in 1634 to have the charter confirmed under the Great Seal of England and enrolled at the Chancery in London. Bankes MSS. 8 Fol. 15, Bodleian Library.

²⁴ Sir Edmund did not leave England until 1642 as the Civil War began, and by then the Swedes had settled on the Delaware. The following year Plowden made his only recorded attempt to take possession of New Albion; he sailed from Virginia with sixteen followers. These men mutinied and cast the Earl ashore on an island off Cape Charles. He was rescued and returned to Virginia where he remained until 1648. That year he recrossed the Atlantic to England where he died in 1659.

²⁵ Thomas Howard, First Earl of Arundell of Wardour and Surrey.

bourhood and give your Lordship notice, that since your brother Proprietary²⁶ and his family is out of London towards Wales you may in person or by him with all speed take present course, and tending my best Respects to your Lordship and your honorable Lady, I rest

From Mr. Seaves a
Surgeon in Milford Lane
London this 30th August
1639

Your Lordships friend

Edmund Plowden

[Noted on the reverse of the second page of the letter:]

To the Right honorable his
much honoured friend Cecil
Lord Baltimore present these.

30 August 1639
Sir Edmund Ployden
to me

²⁶ Sir Edmund Plowden is here referring to himself.

THE JAMES J. ARCHER LETTERS:

A MARYLANDER IN THE CIVIL WAR, PART I

(Continued from March, 1961, p. 93)

Edited by C. A. PORTER HOPKINS

Lt. Col. R. H Archer
55th Virginia Regt
C. S. A.

H^d Qrs Texas Brigade
near Dumfries Va.
8th January 1862

My dear brother

I send you a letter which I opened thinking it might possibly be intended for me.

I read it and answered it — In Genl Wigfalls absence since 24th Dec. I have been in command of the brigade — Don't like temporary command, doing routine duty, away from my regt., with almost the certainty of going back to it when a fight comes on, and finding my own regiment fallen away from the state of discipline, which I had slowly but carefully brought about — so slowly and gradually & imperceptably that they Knew nothing about it — I am on the best possible terms with all my people here & have become warmly attached to Texas & Texans. Indeed my dear brother I cannot see that I have any other home than my regiment — Our Mother & Kindred are in a foreign land

Our Maryland is throttled Every day I see her across the Potomac — the armed heel of the disgusting despot trampling upon her bosom — And I can see no chance to relieve her or avenge her — I ought not to dwell on this subject, or to direct your thoughts into a channel, which, I use all manner of occupation to divert my own from.

With best regards to Mallory & Pickett

Yrs affectionately

J J Archer

Why, the devil, don't you write to me

H^d Qrs Texas Brigade
Near Dumfries Va
23^d January 1862

Lt. Col. R. H. Archer
55th Regt. Va. Vols.
Tappahannock
Va.

My dear Bob.

I send you a letter from Cousin Kate Van Bibber — Have not had a letter from home since the one I sent you long ago — Have got all the regiments of the Brigade into winter cabins — Wigfall will resign 22nd February to take his seat in C. S. Senate — Ben M^c Cullough¹³ will possibly be transferred to command of this Brigade — I understand he wants it.

Wigfall I am satisfied will recommend the appointment of Col Hood¹⁴ of 4th Tex. Regt. for Brigadier — That will change our relative positions & send me back to my regiment under his command — With love to Pickett & Mallory

Yours affectionately

J J Archer

The officers of my regiment all say they want to Keep me for their Colonel — but think I would make the best Brigadier — and so it is with the officers of Hoods regt. —

23^d Jan 1862

I received your letter dated 11th inst. after writing & sealing my note — Gen^l Wigfall came up yesterday to attend the funeral of his brother in law Dr Cross — He returned to Richmond to day — I am still in command of the Brigade & besides have to attend to many things in my own regt. — Dont Know when I can get off — But will avail myself of the first opportunity — Had we not better meet at

¹³ Ben McCulloch, Indian fighter, Mexican War hero, "forty-niner," United States Marshal in east Texas, and brigadier general in the Confederate army serving in the west, was killed at the battle of Elkhorn Tavern (Pea Ridge) on March 7, 1862, *ibid.* 200-1.

¹⁴ John Bell Hood, a native of Kentucky, and a graduate of West Point in the class of 1853, resigned his commission as first lieutenant in the regular army on April 17, 1861. His rise in rank in the Confederate army was amazing, inasmuch as he was promoted to full general with temporary rank on July 18, 1864, about the same time that Archer was returning from prison camp, *ibid.* 142-3.

Fredericksburg — I can get there any day that I leave here starting from here by 10 O'clock and arriving in Fredericksburg by 4½ O'clock P. M. — can we communicate by telegraph there is a Telegraph office here

J. J. A.

P. S. Direct your letters as follows

Dumfries

Via Brook's Station and Army courier

Hd Qrs. Tex. Brigade

Camp Neabsco near Dumfries

31st January 1862

My dear brother

Yesterday I received your letter dated Jan. 26th — There is so much uncertainty & delay in the transmission of letters by mail, that I am afraid we cannot meet by appointment in Fredericksburg, on any such short leave as I might be able to get — and as for Richmond, I could not go there at present without subjecting myself to the suspicion of going to electioneer for promotion — I will try to get a leave which will enable me to go to Urbana, or at least to Tappahannock — I would like to see Pickett and Mallory as well as yourself — I will endeavor to apprise you of my coming — In the mean time do not go away from there without hearing from me — write me when you get this immediately — tell me how long it will take you to go to Tappahannock — how long to Fredericksburg — and how long it will take me, going from here to Fredericksburg in one day, to reach either, and each of the above named places — but I may start before I get an answer to this — From all I can learn the Virginia Field officers will not be elected — They will either retain their present organization or else be appointed by the governor — In the first case, you will be all right — and in the second I presume there will be no difficulty, especially if Pickett and Mallory recommend it, about your re-appointment — But even supposing that these officers become elective — why resign?

Serve on — your resignation in the first place will not be accepted, & in the second will subject you to imputation — Serve out your time, and then, if you *will*, decline being a candidate — your record will then be clear — But I would advise you to be a candidate — you will perhaps be elected — if you are not, you will find most of the best officers of the army in the same category with yourself — I think the election of the officers will be most disastrous to the

efficiency of our army, and the change, of officers occasioned by it, will be for the worse — This is the general sentiment in this part of the army, and even our Volunteers from civil life would regard the defeat, in a re-election of a field officer, as a compliment to his former military character — I have another reason for desiring you to hold on — It is just possible, but not probable, that I may be appointed a Brigadier — My aid de Camp *must* come from amongst the *commissioned* officers, and if you were still in commission, but certainly not otherwise, I might be able, tho. I am not sure about it, to appoint you aid de camp. Do not say a word more about resigning, or even about not being a candidate for reelection or appointment

I have reason to believe that you are much liked by the officers of your command, and that they have confidence in you as an officer — I believe that you are competent for your position Ability to drill is a good and important thing — but there are others and higher and more important qualities, which I think you possess, and if you can get your command drilled by others, you can probably govern and direct your command with far greater ability than many consummate drill masters — Endeavor by the strict & faithful discharge of your duties, and by all other proper and, I need not say honorable means to maintain your dignity and the confidence of your command — Keep up, by all means, confidence in yourself — do not allow yourself to think this man is your superior because he knows a little more drill, and that man because he excels you in this or that one particular thing — Ask yourself the question candidly — Can that man who excels me in this one thing or other — can he govern these men in camp better than I? can he take better care of them? can he point out to them, better than I can, when, or where to fight, at what point to make an attack or how to do it? Has he more justice and impartiality in his administration of the affairs of a command than I have? will the men follow him into battle with more alacrity than they will follow me? that is the way to look at the question — Ashby knows no drill, and Gen^l Jackson did not — but they both possessed high military qualities — Do not understand me as depreciating drill — soldiers to be efficient must be drilled by somebody — but the ability to do the drilling is not indispensable to a leader.

Whatever determination you come to you must not in the future you must not and cannot quit your position until your regiment is mustered out of service

I remain my dearest brother

Ever affectionately

J J Archer

Fredericksburg Va

8th Feb 1862

My dear Mary

I came down here yesterday to meet Bob — I had telegraphed him to meet me here but as he has not come or answered my telegram I conclude he was absent from Urbanna when it arrived — He was quite well when I last heard from him — about ten days ago

I go back to day to my station near Dumfries — When you write send your letter in another addressed to Penn & Mitchell ¹⁵ Pratt St. Baltimore

I have just seen another of Gov Grason's sons who arrived here last night from the Eastern shore of Md. — You can tell his friends that he is well — I found George Lemmon ¹⁶ here looking better than I ever saw him. Gen^l Wigfall is still absent in Richmond & I of course remain in command of the Brigade until his return

You may have seen a false report that a scouting party of ten of our Texans were surprised in a house one night lately & that 9 were Killed & 1 made prisoner — The truth is there were only eight Texans who drove off the Yanky force of eight men Killed three & wounded several more — only one of the Texans was hurt and he slightly —

With love to our dear Mother and all the rest

I am ever afftly

J J Archer

Fredericksburg Va

8th Feb. 1862

My dear Bob

I have been greatly disappointed at not meeting you here — I supposed that of course after you telegraphed me from West Point you would have sent to the telegraph office for an answer — I tele-

¹⁵ Alexander Penn of 49 St. Paul Street, and Richard H. Mitchell, 36 Franklin Street, were commission merchants with offices at 53 West Pratt Street, Baltimore: Woods, *Balto. City Directory*, 1860, p. 273, 300.

¹⁶ George Lemmon, a Baltimorean, was the son of William P. Lemmon, president of the Merchants Shot Works, and Lemmon and Company. One of several brothers in the Confederate service, George Lemmon served on Archer's staff through all the campaigns in 1862 and 1863. Captured at Gettysburg, Lemmon was imprisoned at Johnson's Island with Archer and paroled in the early fall of 1864: Dielman File, Md. Hist. Soc.

graphed 2nd Feb. 2nd for you to meet me here last Wednesday night or Thursday morning — It took me all day riding through bridle paths & bye-ways, to avoid the main road which is nearly impassable, before I got here — I was to have left yesterday but while there was a possibility of your coming I risked staying over one day — I am just going to mount my horse to ride back — If I should come again it will only be on some certain arrangement with you for our meeting — and then I can only come down one day & return the next — I suppose I missed you by only directing the telegram to West Point when I ought also to have added Urbanna — You had better always direct your cousin to enquire at the telegraph office — I hear that Pickett is a Brigadier if it is true I am glad to hear it he will make a good General

George Lemmon is here on his way to Maryland through my camp — I have seen John Stansbury who took me for you

John Grason Ex. Gov. Grason's son arrived yesterday from the Eastern shore

Let me hear from you as soon as possible and tell me what you think of my views as expressed in my last letter to you — By all means & for my sake as well as your own do not resign before the regt. is disbanded — and do not say you will not be a candidate for reelection — if the field officers are to be appointed by the Governor be an applicant for the appt. & let me know at once that I may write to the governor

Yrs truly

J J Archer

Head Qrs. Tex Brigade
near Dumfries Va.

18th Feb 1862

My dear Brother

I don't know how it is that I get no answer to my frequent letters to you — I have been directing them to West Point King William County Virginia—As I may have omitted to put "Urbanna" on them they may possibly be still lying in the post office at West Point.

I also telegraphed to you at West Point and on the faith of my telegram went to Fredericksburg & waited there two days for you to meet me. Let me know how I can communicate with you *surely* both by letter and by telegraph —

I send you a telegram to day just to see whether you will get it or not.

I say to you again that you must not yet resign. You *must* wait to be disbanded.

You can then be a candidate or not as you like — It will subject you, where the circumstances are not known, to imputation to resign — Be a candidate for re-election or appointment — I believe you can be elected —

Do not be too diffident of yourself or think you are inferior to your inferiors because they happen to Know a little more drill than you do — I Know that you are competent for your position rendered so by the possession of higher qualities than those of a mere drill officer — Go on as you have begun —

But by all means do not resign which you cannot do now with any propriety

Yrs affectionately

J J Archer

H^d Qrs 5th Texas Regt

26th March 1862

Fredericksburg

My dear brother

I received your letter to-day and it makes me more than ever regret that I did not Know you were at Ft Lowry when on the 13th inst. I went to Richmond on a leave of seven days

I wrote & telegraphed to Urbanna for you if possible to meet me at Richmond — We had just come here from Dumfries to Fredericksburg when I turned over the command of the Brigade to Gen^l Hood

I was afraid to go to Urbanna lest I might not be able to get back when wanted, but I would have gone to Lowry — I am very sorry to hear that you do not feel equal to your position & scarcely Know what to say to you on the subject — It seems impossible for me to get to you I would like much to talk to you on the subject

As to the position of Aid de Camp — You Know that Hood is the Brigadier — I see no likelihood of my being promoted — Politics & politicians govern these matters now, and Maryland has no delegation in congress — I[f] you should de[c]line an election to your present position — could you get the cavalry troop you spoke of — if not you had better by all means be reelected for the sake of the character it would give you — you could resign afterwards — My dear brother I think I desire your success and happiness more than

my own — I wish to advise you but I do not know how, otherwise than I have done in other letters

I have been much gratified by all I have heard of your great popularity, and I am satisfied that you have the confidence of your regiment

Yrs affectionately

J J Archer

1st April 1862

My dear Nannie

I am told that the legislature of Maryland has passed a law to punish with fine & imprisonment not only those who write to, but all who receive letters from "rebels"

That being the case I suppose the rebels will cease to write to their friends in Maryland (especially to those who have any property to [be] confiscated) and will not expect their friends to write to them — And when they do happen to receive a letter they will not acknowledge its receipt or at least from whom it came

I received a letter a short time since announcing the death of Sylvester Finley — He was at home in Nashville on furlough and was accidentally killed by a pistol which went off in the pocket of a stranger

Bob is well — I saw him about six weeks ago — It would do Mother good to see him — I have not seen [him] look so well for many years — He writes to me often, and always says something affectionate of Mother & the rest of you — I am not far from him — that is not more than forty miles but neither of us can take time to visit the other — You know this is a busy season — I received a letter a day or two ago telling me how mother and all of you are — I sent it to Bob after reading it lest the one which was written to him at the same time might have miscarried.

Mother of course knows why I do not write to her — Kiss her & all her children for me my dear Nannie — and know that I am always

Affectionately yours

J J Sincoe

Hd Qrs 5th Texas Regt
Near New Kent Ct. House
8th May 1862

My dear brother

I have been anxious for an opportunity of writing to you for some time past but could not find out where to direct the letter—I don't know where you are now, and therefore send to care of Weston.

I hope you have taken my advice and allowed your regiment to do what they wanted to do viz to run you for re-election to your Lt. Colonelcy—By all means if it is not too late hold on to your position—I am sure you can sustain yourself in it—And if I should ever get a brigade I think I can have you assigned to duty with me with your full rank—I think I told you that Whiting¹⁷ offered me the command of a brigade of 3 regiments when I turned over the command of the Tex Brigade to Hood—I declined it on the ground that I would rather command my own regiment which I knew would stand by me than take without rank or staff the command of a brigade of regiments which I knew nothing about & which might fail me in battle—The Texans will always stand by me—

We had a little fight yesterday in which our brigade drove a brigade of the enemy reinforced by another brigade for a mile and a quarter under shelter of their gun boats—I saw Brady to-day he was anxious to hear from you—Kenly whom I met some time ago told me you were sick in Richmond.

Let me hear from you soon affectionately J J Archer
You *must* retain your position—If I *could* I would say you *SHALL*

J J Archer

Hd Qrs 5th Tex. Regt.
13th May 1862

My dear Bob

I wrote you yesterday that Gen^l Hood wanted you as Volunteer

¹⁷ Brigadier General William Henry Chase Whiting, a graduate of West Point in the class of 1845—An engineer in the old army, he commanded a division in the campaigns around Richmond in 1862. Ordered to Wilmington, North Carolina, General Whiting developed Fort Fisher at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. Except for brief service at Petersburg in the summer of 1864, Whiting served at Fort Fisher until its fall January 15, 1865. Severely wounded and taken prisoner, he died of his wounds in New York in early March, 1865: *Generals In Gray*, p. 335.

Aid — his staff was already full or I Know he would have given you the appointment — He does not take you as a favor to you or me but because he really wants you

— If he had not asked for you I would have sent for you to assist me — My Commissary was Killed by my side the other day acting in the capacity of an aid

George Lemmon arrived last night — Hood wants you none the less that he has him —

If you prefer serving with Pickett and perhaps Pickett would remember you more faithfully in his report of the fight you will find him in Longstreet's Division on the road from Longbridge to Baltimore Store, otherwise called Tallysville

Go to Pickett or come to me at once — If any thing should have happened to me before you arrive (which I have a presentiment will *not* be the case) report to Hood — he expects you

Give my love to Weston & Pickett —

Tell Weston I am sorry the line (Md.) has fallen through — but that I would not care to see it organized under Stewart¹⁸ — I am ready to go into any Maryland organization but would be deeply humiliated to serve under Stewarts command

My regiment is perfectly game — our little fight has strengthened & perfected the confidence which has always existed between us

— The regiment is trying to find a fine horse to present to me but I dont see much chance of their being able to find one until after a victory over McClelland giving us some leisure to look arround

Hoods Brigade is in Whiting's Division, G. W. Smiths Corps

Ever affectionately

J J Archer

P. S. I did not ask Hood to take you on his staff but only enquired where Pickett is and mentioned what you wanted with him

H^d Qrs Tenn. Brigade

3^d June 1862

My dear Bob

I have been appointed Brigadier & assigned to the command of the Tenn. Brigade

Come over and be my aid de Camp

Yrs

J J Archer

¹⁸ George H. Steuart, a native of Baltimore, West Point graduate, and regular army cavalry officer, had commanded the 1st Maryland Infantry regiment until promoted in March 1862 to brigadier general, *ibid.*, 290.

Lt Col R H Archer

P. S. Mallory says he intends to nominate you for Lt. Col. in case Counsell does not accept but does not want me to let you know — I let you know because I want you to accept — it will be a higher compliment than at first — I am trying to get for you the Lt. Col. cy of 4th Va. Art. serving as infantry — A good prospect I think — Wickham Leigh ¹⁹ is Major — Get a letter from Pickett & send it at once to the Secretary

Yrs truly

J. J. A.

Hd Qrs 5th Brigade

25th June 1862

Sir

You are directed to send in your morning report immediately — & immediately after sending it you will please send to this Hd Qrs an explanation in writing of your delay

— The commissary can not make his requisition until it is furnished — The provisions for the whole brigade are detained on yr. account

Respectfully

Yr. O'bt Servt.

J J Archer
Brig Gen^l

Hd Qrs 5th & 6th Brigades

28th July 1862

Orders

No Capt R H Archer will remain here until tomorrow morning, or next day — He will then proceed by the Central rail road to report to me wherever my head Qrs may then be

J J Archer
Brig Gen^l
Com^{dr}

¹⁹ John Wickham Leigh of Virginia was a Mexican War messmate of J. J. Archer's. See "A Marylander in the Mexican War: Some Letters of J. J. Archer," *loc. cit.*, pp. 416, 417.

H^d Qrs Archer's Brigade
Between Hazel & Hedgeman River
23^d August 1862

My dear brother

Dr Montgomery has not yet reached us but I got a letter from him to day — From his account you are not dangerously sick but are likely to be unfit for duty for a considerable time — I have sent Philip back with my horse which has got snagged — I think he will be well as soon as you are and that it would be best to send me your black and let Shadrick attend to mine — Mine will be utterly ruined if he can not get rest — You can use your judgment about sending me your black horse — but I am sure my horse will be well as soon as you are — I have no horse but my grey fit to ride

Philip will [tell you] that we are well. Dr. Montgomery arrived since I commenced writing

We were detained here all day to-day building a bridge over Hedgeman's river which is the north fork of the Rappahannock and which is not fordable since the rains

Affectionately

J J Archer

If the Black dont come send Philip on the Lemmon horse

J J A

I have not drawn pay either for July or Aug and will before the Battle

Clark County Va

5th Nov 1862

My dear Bob

We are bivouacked about half way from Berryville to the ford at Snickers gap two miles from each The enemy have possession of the Gap & we are holding the ford — Day before yesterday Hill sent me in command of the three smallest brigades to picket the ford — In the afternoon the [enemy] as I suppose thought we had no force there as I Kept the troop carefully concealed — they sent down about 1000 men who drew up in line along the shore at the ford — I opened on them with 19th Georgia regiment and two batteries — The enemy soon ran away out of sight and sent back a white flag & a litter corps to carry off their Killed & wounded of whom they had left about 40 on the ground

I sent over a party the next morning & picked up twenty seven rifles

Birkett ²⁰ has got his appointment

Alex. Boteler ²¹ has promised to get a Surgeons commission for Dr. Jones — I have got your watch from Jones

I have a letter somewhere in my Valise for you from Nannie I opened & read it they are all well at home — Miss Van Bibber wants to know if you got some yarn socks sent to you by a Miss Shild of Va a relative of Mrs Jas Archer of Mississippi

George Williams has lost his horse from an overfeed of green corn — the same happened the other day to the ambulance grey

CONFIDENTIAL

Pender ²² has gone home on sick leave — I have no doubt he stopped long enough in Richmond to make some enquiries of his friends as who are likely to be made Maj. Gen^{ls}

Yrs &c &c

J J Archer

I believe you have a poor opinion of the Tennessee troops

The fighting men amongst them are equal & a believe the brigade has as good a fighting reputation as any in the Division — Be careful not to speak disparagingly of them —

²⁰ Birkett D. Fry, another Mexican War comrade of Archer's, had a distinguished career in the Confederate army. *op. cit.* 421. For a brief biography of Fry, see *The Southern Historical Society Papers*, XVIII, 286-288.

²¹ Alexander Robinson Boteler, a Virginian who grew up in Baltimore, graduated in 1835 from Princeton, in the same class as Archer. Elected to the United States House of Representatives from Shepherdstown, Virginia, in 1859, Boteler tried to prevent the impending sectional split, but left Congress on Virginia's secession. Elected to the General Assembly of Virginia, and delegate to the Confederate Provisional Congress, he was also a member of the first Confederate Congress. In addition, he served as a volunteer aide on the staffs of Stonewall Jackson and Jeb Stuart. His career after the war included appointments to the Tariff Commission, and the United States Department of Justice. An author, artist and versatile gentleman of the old school, Boteler died in 1892: *DAB*, II, 467-8.

²² William Dorsey Pender, an 1854 graduate of West Point, served on the Pacific coast before resigning his first lieutenant's commission in March, 1861. Colonel of the 3rd, later 13th, North Carolina Infantry regiment in Whiting's brigade, C. W. Smith's division, he was promoted to brigadier in June 1862. He died of wounds suffered in the Gettysburg campaign, having been promoted to major general only shortly before. *Generals In Gray*, 233.

Near Fredericksburg
15th Dec 1862

I send this open by flag of truce — Oliver Thomas William G Lemmon Levering & Bob not hurt — Frank Wotten a Volunteer aid on my staff shot in the head but still alive

Yours &c

J. J. Archer

H^d Qrs Archers Brigade
20th Dec 1862

My dear Bob

We had a fight last Saturday in which I lost 250 Killed & 123 prisoners the latter in consequence of a gap having been left between me & Gen^l Lane ²³ through which the enemy passed & got in rear of my left regiments

Major Van de Graff Colonel Turney Lt.Col. Graves — & Major Buchanan are amongst the wounded — Frank Wootten volunteered on Hill's ²⁴ staff got separated from him & came to me I accepted him for the fight & he was shot in the head two minutes after and carried off the field I have not heard from him since — he was not dead when carried off but I can not find out where he was taken to — I wrote to Mother Tuesday by flag of truce.

I wish you would get me an over coat made — I must have one at any price although I dont know where the money is to come from — Of course I had to pay Swann's expenses to Richmond & lend him money when he left me yesterday — Neither he nor George W. got back in time for the fight Swan could not help it — I am very much disgusted with George about it — He got tight both evenings while in Richmond and I suppose that is the reason he

²³ James Henry Lane, a Virginian, graduate of both V. M. I. and the University of Virginia, entered the Confederate army as major of the 1st North Carolina Volunteers. Later colonel of the 28th North Carolina, he was promoted to brigadier general in November, 1862. Three times wounded during the war, he served throughout in the Army of Northern Virginia and surrendered at Appomattox. Following the war he taught at schools and colleges in various states in the South until his death in 1907. *ibid.*, 172-173.

²⁴ Ambrose Powell Hill, a Virginian, and 1847 graduate of West Point, saw service in Mexico and in the Florida Seminole campaigns. Resigning from the United States Army in March, 1861, he became colonel of the 13th Virginia Infantry. Appointed to brigadier in February 1862, he was promoted to major general May 26, 1862. His division, known as the "Light" Division, performed admirably in all the campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia until the reorganization of the army in June of 1863: *ibid.*, 134-135.

could not come in time. I wish all the liquor in the universe was poured out & sunk

Yours truly

J J Archer

If you will go to the clothing store on Pearl Street you may be able to get some cloth

George Archer or Maj. Clem. Hill can help you in the matter

If you can get the cloth on reasonable terms from Government I want a vest & pair of trousers made and enough cloth for uniform dress coat which last I will not have made yet

H^d Qrs Archers Brigade

21st Dec 1862

My dear Bob

When I wrote you yesterday I had just got a letter from you which I have since destroyed and which I thought was written within the last 3 days — stating that you are in Richmond &c — under that impression I asked you to do many things for me which of course if you are in Middlesex you need not trouble yourself about

Send me any news you get from home

I wrote to Mother the Monday after the battle. Remember me Kindly to Dr Gatewood

I send you a copy of my report of the battle — I told Gen Hill that there was danger of being flanked and it was Gen^l Hill himself who told me that Gregg²⁵ was close enough to the "interval" to prevent my being flanked. The Maj Gen^l is perfectly aware that no fault is mine in the matter — He attributes it to the deafness of Gregg who was ordered to advance when the heavy musketry commenced, & who probably did not hear, either that, or the orders — at all Events when Lemmon reached him, with my message, his arms were stacked, and the enemy's bullets were rattling amongst his stacks of muskets before the men were ordered to take arms

Yours truly

J J Archer

²⁵ Maxcy Gregg of Charleston, South Carolina, a veteran of the Mexican War, left his law practice soon after the secession of his native state to enter the Confederate Army. Promoted to brigadier general on December 14, 1861, he served in General A. P. Hill's division until the time of his mortal wound at Fredericksburg. *ibid.*, 120-121.

Jan 2nd 1863

My dear Bob

We are near Guinea Station which is our present Depot & post office —

All well here The prospects I think look bright for peace since battle of Fredericksburg & since the democrats at the north have found their tongues — A victory in the West I think would settle the matter

Ever my dear brother truly & affectionately Yrs

J J Archer

(watermark)

12th Reg. Mass. Vols.

Col. Fletcher Webster

Camp Gregg near
Fredericksburg Va.

12th January 1863

My dear Mother

Last fall a year ago was the time fixed and anxiously looked forward to by me for another visit home. — I started earlier than I had expected and have been on the way ever since, traveling by new routes, and encountering many obstacles and difficulties & dangers, but never losing sight of the object of my journey and never, for a moment, doubting that by the blessings of Providence, the prayers of my good Mother & sisters and the Valour of my comrades I would reach the promised land, tho' a million barred the way and every step were over the body of a fallen enemy —

The road has been hard to travel my dear Mother, but it leads to liberty & honor & happiness & home and friends, and now that I have almost reached the end, as I look back the dark rough places seem bright & pleasant, and as I look forward my heart swells with the thought of meeting you again

I believe you were Kept informed of my movements up to the time of and including the three days battle of Manassas — after that I was at the capture of Harpers Ferry at Sharpsburg Sheppards-town and Fredericksburg — I was near missing the battles of Sharpsburg & Fredericksburg — When we started from Harpers Ferry to Sharpsburg I had been sick in bed all the day before, & was too weak & sick to mount my horse, but rode in an ambulance & had to stop on the way and lie down for an hour; but after my brigade had passed and I heard the sound of the battle where Longstreet was engaged, & thought of my troops going in without me I got

well again — mounted my horse & overtook my brigade just before it came up with the enemy

I never felt better or stronger than during the whole time the battle lasted when it was over I found myself completely prostrated, and lay almost in a stupor all the next day — the third day after, I was well again & commanded three brigades in the battle of Sheppardstown. The first of December I went to Richmond sick & was there when the intelligence came down that the enemy was very near crossing the river at Fredericksburg.

I took the first rail road train & joined my brigade a little before day break the morning of the battle — I wrote from the battle field by flag of truce — Suppose you got my letter as Mrs. Lemmon got Georges written at the same time — Frank Wooten whom I mentioned as having been wounded mortally has since died — Wooten had Volunteered his aid on Gen^l Hills Staff in the morning but became separated from him and came to me and asked me to take him on mine which I did of course; — he was shot from his horse in less than a minute after. Bob is in Richmond doing well but not well enough to be in camp yet

Oliver Thomas & George Williams are with me — George Lemmon went to Richmond to-day I expect him back soon — Levering went to Richmond Christmas and has not returned — he was to have come back in a day or two — I understand he has gone to Charleston on some government business — Great as Braggs success at Murfreesboro we are disappointed that it was not greater — I think we have amply shown all sober people at the North that they are engaged in a Vain attempt & I for one look for a speedy peace in the hope of which I am as ever my dear mother

Affectionately yours

J J Archer

It may be a gratification to Woottens friends to Know that he fell most gallantly cheering the troops.

H^d Qrs Brigade

Near Guineas Station

28th January 1863

My dear Bob

I do not think there is any immediate prospect of the crossing of the enemy on account of the condition of the roads from the recent rains I will endeavour to give you notice in time

Yours truly

I want some postage stamps

J J Archer

Brigade Hd Qrs.
near Guineas Station
29th January 1863

My dear Bob

There is snow on the ground this morning inches deep — No likelihood of a fight soon now — So I hope my last letter has not disturbed you in your quarters; you know you have to take the best possible care of yourself to be ready & I will notify you if I can in time — As to your resignation it must not be thought of until I see you — I believe however that Richmond is worse for you than camp would be

I see no reason why you should have left the country place you were in for such a vile hole as Richmond is —

Yours &c &c

J J Archer

If you have no use for your servant I wish you would send him up — Lemmon let William go off on leave last November & I have only Philip & John who have more work than they can do

J J A

Brigade Hd Qrs.
3^d Feb 1863

My dear Brother

I have got my leave of absence but in consequence of orders just received to make out reports, which will occupy me all day tomorrow, will not be able to leave until day after tomorrow (5th inst.) — Major Morgan goes down with me — I will probably, as he proposes, stay with him at some good place where, he says, we can have a comfortable room — I *had* intended crowding in on you or Sutherland for I'll be good god blessed if I ever stay at the Spottswood again

I will go directly up to Sutherlands when I arrive, first to the Tazewell cottage, & if I do not find you & South there, then to his room on ——— street, where I will certainly meet you both

The 19th Georgia has been transferred, much to its dis-satisfaction, to Colquit's brigade, and in its place, I have our friend Birkett D. Fry's 13th Ala. Regt., which has been with me now about two weeks & is delighted with the change — not that they liked Colquett any

less than me, but they are more comfortable here — Fry is not here, but is in Richmond nursing his wounds rec^d at Sharpsburg

I have an aggregate of 1600 present

Yours truly

J J Archer

Col R H Archer

H^d Qrs 5th Texas Regt
Feb 1st 1863

Brig. Gen^l Archer

Dear Gen^l

In closed are Some letters, one written by a Miss Laura Somebody to Jimmie Harris, and Brown has volunteered the task to Answer it.

I doubt if her name is Wynam, but hoping if you Send it to your friends the disconsolate "Laura May receive it.

We are in the mud & certain the Blockade is effectual — I will come to see you in a few days —

Truly your friend

R M Powell

P. S. Miss Laura

is a resident of Baltimore & while Jimmie was in captivity their mutual affection was conceived —

R. M. P.

Feb 14th 1863

My dear Nannie

Mr. Harris is the same You wrote to me that a young lady with her mother called to ask you to write to them about — He belonged to my old Texas regiment — & was a brave sprightly handsome boy — he was Killed at Manassas last August, carrying the flag of his regiment — I hope Mr. Brown's remarkable letter may reach its destination — I wrote you long ago that Harris had been Killed — I have not been in com^d of Texas troops since 2nd June — My command is now composed of Tennessee and Alabama troops

Yrs affectionately J J Archer

17th Feb 1863 — I returned last Friday from an eight days visit to Richmond Bob came & stayed with me all the time I was there — He is not well enough for field duty but able to be about, Thomas,

G.A.W. & G.L. are well — Dr. Montgomery is with me he is well

While in Richmond I dined one day at Mrs. Harrison's (of Brandon, Mrs. Jno Gittings sister) Mrs Cross & Mrs Virginia Ritchie are with her in Richmond, in fact the whole family are there, Brandon being exposed to Yankee raids — I met Dr. Robinson of Balt^o there one evening & asked him to call & see you, as Bob had done before, — John Archer was looking remarkably well — On the 1st of last June Colonel Powell the writer of the foregoing note, was the 4th Captain in my old regiment and has gone up by regular promotion by seniority to the Colonelcy — There was no such regiment in the service as the 5th Texas & I had strong doubts about leaving it to take promotion elsewhere — Fry who was a 1st Lt. of our old Voltigeur regt. & afterwards a Brig. Gen^l under Walker in Nicaragua is now one of my Colonels in command of 13th Ala. Regt. — He was badly wounded at 7 Pines & Sharpsburg — but is expected back for duty in about two weeks

H^d Qrs Archers Brigade
A. P. Hill's Division
near Guineas Station

15th February 1863

My dear brother

I send you enclosed an extension of your leave, and the questions proposed by the Ordnance Examining Board of which Major or Lt. Col. or Captain Brown (late school master) was the chief examiner, the latter of which I wish you to give to Gen^l Wigfall

I would like you to say to him that a difficulty may be raised on account of Pender's seniority, & to let him know that on the same day I was appointed to the *full* rank of Brigadier Pender was appointed to the "*temporary*" rank of Brigadier from which it appears to me conclusive that it was intended I should rank him — He was however afterwards, & after an interview by him with the President, about the 2nd July, appointed to the *full* rank of a Brigadier to date from 3^d June the date of both our original appointments — and as his *Colonelcy* was older than mine he became the ranking officer by virtue of former commission — although I was a *brevet* Major in 1847 before he had entered the Army.

I mention this matter of Pender's only because his medical director Dr. Holt told me last Thursday in Richmond that the reason of his (Holt's) remaining in Richmond was that he was electioneering for Pender's promotion and had succeeded in getting the North Carolina delegation interested in the case

I forgot to say that my rank as captain when I resigned was about six years old while he was only a 1st Lt.

I will write you again shortly

Ever affectionately

Yours

J J Archer

I write for you — I think you had better state the matter I have written to the Gen^l verbally but do as you think best about it

Brigade H^d Qrs

21st Feb 1863

My dear Bob

I have sent to Mr Cross Major Vicks order on the Qr. Mr. at Richmond for cloth — I do not care to have it made up at present

There are 4 yds for you, Oliver & George W.-Lemmon's share is for George Williams — Why don't you write — send me one of the photographs — Got a letter from home. Suppose you sent it to me from Richmond & read it, if not I can tell you they were all well — call at Mrs. Weston's & enquire if there are letters there for me

There was a sash sent from home directed to George Archer — Can you learn anything about it

Mallory goes down tomorrow — says he will enquire at Qr. Mr. Gen's & tell South where you can find him

Pender also goes down — Hood is I expect in Richmond or will be soon, see him if you can

Remember me to South Ellicott & Selman

Yrs Affly

J J Archer

1 O'clock A.M. A violent snow storm is raging; may it wreck the blockading squadrons, and thwart the plans of the enemy on land and sea — all stuck in the mud & snow here

23^d Feb. 1863 — Snowed hard all day yesterday

Brigade H^d Qrs.

27th Feb 1863

My dear Bob

I am told you are coming up on Sunday — It is the very worst

time for you to come — nothing can be done here for at least 15 days — I advise you to wait a while till the weather is settled and the ground is dryer.

Get a surgeon's certificate & send it to me

Yrs &c

J J Archer

Col R. H. Archer
Care of St. Clair Sutherland
Qr. Mr. Gen's Office
Richmond
Va

Brig. Hd Qrs
7th March 1863

My dear Bob

I will send to Guiney's Station for you next Thursday.

Joe Johnston & all the other horses at Hd Qrs. are lousey — Find out what will cure them & bring it up with you — If you know of nothing better bring up some mercurial ointment

Call at Col Taylor's (the 2nd auditor) and ask him about my horse valuation

I want the money — I drew my February pay while in Richmond & am high & dry now — You have behaved I think very badly in not answering my letters to you which related to matters of importance about which you must have known I was anxious

Had you written to me that you did not attend to the matter I would have applied to Hood or some one else who would at least show enough interest to answer my letters —

Mallory has returned but I have not seen him — Gen Heth has arrived & been assigned to command of Field's brigade — so Mallory's chance there is gone

I only learned to day that Floyd has my sash. I had supposed it was lost — If you should not come up Thursday I beg you will write to me — I think it is as little as you can do to inform me by a short letter of matters which I cant be in Richmond to learn & which you know I want to know

I am glad you have last come to the conclusion that Richmond is not a fit place to stay in — I hear of you from all my officers who return from their leaves of absence

If you do not return Thursday had you not better go into the country — so far from a man getting well in Richmond, it requires a strong constitution to spend a week there — It took me a week to recover the tone of my mind & body

Yrs Affty

J J Archer

12th March 63

My dear Bob

I sent for you today as I wrote you I would — I have had a tent pitched for you with a chimney — As you did not come and as I have not heard from you since you wrote me you wanted me to send I concluded that you must have had a relapse & would want your leave extended — I got a letter today from Lemmon he was on the banks of Potomac 9th inst

Yrs Affectionately

J J Archer

There is no telegraph station nearer than Gen. Lee's H^d Qrs 12 miles from here —

Camp Gregg

Near Fredericksburg, Va.

14th March 1863

My dear Nannie

Your letter of 10th January was received about a month ago, that of 6th Jan and 18th Dec. only a few days since — These are the only letters I have received from home since the battle of Fredericksburg

I have heard however through Geo. Williams that you were all well.

I received a short time ago a very handsome buff sash. I don't know how it came or who brought it — It was sent to Geo A. for me — but I know where it came from —

G. A. W., O. H. T. and Dr. W. T. M—y are with me and all well except Oliver who although for duty is in bad health & I do not think will be able to stand the coming campaign — G. L. is absent on leave — Bob will join me to-morrow — I had a tent prepared for him yesterday with a chimney I have kept a fire up ever since so that it may be dry when he comes —

Many are disappointed that the democratic party of the North have acquiesced in Lincoln's continuance of the War — I am not — I expected it —

I went to Richmond in February and spent a week with Bob — He was much improved in health and by this time ought to be entirely well & strong, but you know how imprudent he is — I still expect to find him perfectly well tomorrow.

I had got quite well when I came up from Richmond to the Fredericksburg battle 12th Dec. and have been well ever since with

the exception of an occasional cold (slight) such as we are always subject to in winter

My health was never better than now.

Do not let any of our people obey the Yankee conscription — they ought to suffer anything rather —

Kiss Mother for me my dear sister

With unfailing love for all at home

I am

Faithfully & affectionately

yours

J. J. Archer

Miss N. H. Archer

Compliments J. S. Lemmon

Brigade Hd Qrs near Fredericksburg

14th June 1863

My dear Nannie

I wrote you about two weeks ago pr. flag of truce but perhaps you did not receive my letter — Bob, George Williams & O. H. Thomas were all with me during the fight at Chancellorsville I need not tell you that they all behaved gallantly for that is a matter of course & what you would know without being told — Gen^l Lee on the field & Lt. Gen^l Hill since, both congratulated me on the performance of my brigade; I don't know what they say in their official reports — Maj. Gen^l Heth²⁶ who succeeded Hill after the latter was slightly wounded says in his official report that the battery which I took in the beginning of the fight Sunday morning was the Key to the enemy's position and expressed the opinion to me that it decided the day I had some hard fighting however after that — I was on the extreme right of our division — became engaged long before any of the rest, and the battle was half over before I received the least support, or even got a sight of any other of our

²⁶ Henry Heth, of Virginia, was graduated from West Point in 1847. Resigning from the regular army in 1861, he saw service in Western Virginia as Colonel of the 45th Virginia Infantry before being promoted to brigadier in January, 1862. His nomination to major general was held up for over a year, but Heth acted in that capacity until his confirmation February 17, 1864. Wounded at Gettysburg, Heth returned to the army and took part in subsequent campaigns until his parole at Appomattox: *ibid.*, 133.

troops — I lost in killed & wounded more than a fourth of my brigade but I am satisfied did enough harm to the enemy to compensate a much greater loss — Lemmon & Montgomery were at their posts as Ordnance officer & Surgeon — It is the first time that I have kept Lemmon back with the Ordnance wagons he has always before gone with me in the fights

All my staff are with me and well. — Our friend Frank Mallory Col. 55th Va. was Killed — You have doubtless heard the death of Duncan McKim²⁷ killed in same battle — B. D. Fry formerly adjutant of Voltigeurs in Mex. war & more recently Brig. Gen^l under Walker in Nicaragua is now a Colonel Com^d 13th Ala. Regt in my brigade —

Give my best love my dearest Nannie to Mother and all at home (in which last word I include Rock Run Rockland Cedar Hill Shamrock) none of whom I have in the least degree forgotten

²⁷ Major William Duncan McKim, of Maryland, had previously been wounded at the battle of Sharpsburg while serving on General I. R. Trimble's staff. A moving account of McKim's death at Chancellorsville is given by his first cousin, Randolph McKim, in *A Soldier's Recollections* (New York, 1910), pp. 131-132.

A BRITISH OFFICER'S REVOLUTIONARY WAR JOURNAL, 1776-1778

Edited by S. SYDNEY BRADFORD

AMONG the various colonial and Revolutionary journals and orderly books included in the little known Lloyd W. Smith Collection at Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, New Jersey, is a three by five inch notebook.¹ Convenient to the pocket, this worn volume contains the almost daily entries of Lieutenant Henry Stirke during his service as a light infantry officer with Sir William Howe's army between June, 1776 and April, 1778.² As Stirke fought in every major battle from the easy British victory on Long Island through the barely-won triumph at Germantown, plus innumerable dangerous skirmishes, his comments on those actions constitute an interesting personal record that is a worthy addition to the small number of extant British officers' narratives of the American Revolution.³

Stirke received an ensign's commission in the 10th Regiment of Foot on July 3, 1775, but his journal shows that he did not join his unit until June, 1776.⁴ By that time the regiment had been posted in America for over eight years, having landed in Canada in January, 1768, where it remained as part of that colony's garrison until transferred to troubled Boston in 1774.⁵

¹ The Lloyd W. Smith Collection consists of some 30,000 manuscripts and 20,000 printed works and is especially rich for the American Revolution.

² After Nov. 27, 1777 there are no entries except for "A Journal from Philadelphia to Cork, . . ." Apr. 16-May 29, 1778, which brief account is not herein included.

³ "The number of sources on both sides for the war [the American Revolution] is disproportionate: against the hundreds of American accounts can only be set at the most two dozen by British officers." Eric Robson, *Letters from America, 1773 to 1780* (Manchester, 1951), XXII (hereafter Robson).

⁴ Worthington C. Ford, *British Officers Serving in the American Revolution, 1774-1783* (Brooklyn, 1897), p. 167 (hereafter Ford).

⁵ Albert Lee, *The History of the Tenth Foot* (2 vol.; London, 1911), I, 211 (hereafter Lee); C. T. Atkinson, "British Forces in North America, 1774-1781; Their Distribution and Strength," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, XVI (Spring, 1937), 5-15 (hereafter Atkinson).

Upon General Thomas Gage's evacuation of the Massachusetts capital, the 10th Regiment sailed to Halifax and there Ensign Stirke joined its light infantry company.⁶ After the reinforcement of the 10th and other units at Halifax, the troops boarded the transports and moved to New York to meet their new commander, Howe, and to begin a new campaign against the rebels.

During the subsequent campaign, in which absolute success always eluded Howe, Stirke and his fellow light infantrymen participated in arduous marching and fighting. In recognition of such service, Stirke was made a lieutenant on November 18, 1776 and he held this rank for the remainder of his American duty.⁷ In the following year, he again experienced fatiguing marches and heavy fighting, and the Battle of Germantown saw his company engaged in an especially desperate action. In April, 1778 Stirke sailed for England, and after the British retreat from Philadelphia in June the new British commander, General Henry Clinton, ordered the battered and depleted 10th Regiment home for "rest" and recruitment.⁸

Neither Stirke nor his regiment returned to America, and few details are known about his subsequent career. He remained in the 10th Regiment until made a captain in the 42nd Independent Company of Foot in July, 1781; after it was disbanded in 1783 his name was placed on the half-pay list until 1796.⁹ Thereafter, he disappears from the records.

The 10th Regiment's light infantry company and its brother light infantry companies were the product of a relatively recent development in the British army. Organized light infantry had appeared in Europe at the Battle of Pavia in 1525, but by 1700 had been converted to heavy infantry.¹⁰ Later in the eighteenth century the Austrians revived the use of light infantry,¹¹ but the British turned to such troops only after General Edward Braddock's startling defeat in 1755. The 60th Royal Americans, a corps of lightly armed soldiers capable of swift movement, became "... the first true light infantry the British Standing

⁶ Atkinson, 5-15.

⁷ Ford, 167.

⁸ Atkinson, 5-15; Lee, I, 265; n. 2, *supra*.

⁹ *A List of the Officers of the Army* (London, 1782), p. 187 (hereafter *List*); see also the *Lists* for 1784-1797.

¹⁰ J. F. C. Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1925), 19-20 (hereafter Fuller).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 47-48, 67-68.

Army ever had.”¹² Hard earned lessons are easily forgotten, however, and after Britain’s amazing reversal of fortune and her final defeat of France in America and elsewhere, the light infantry was reduced. It is true that a light infantry company was added to each line battalion in 1770, but slackers and other incompetents drifted into those companies. This situation caused King George to order Sir William Howe to organize a camp at Salisbury and train seven companies of light infantry. Howe, who had fought in America’s forests during the French and Indian War, taught the soldiers tactics he had devised as a result of his American experiences.¹³ Armed with a light musket or fusil and trained to move rapidly, these companies became known as flank companies, as they and the grenadiers were usually posted on the flanks of a regiment.¹⁴

In an army, the light infantry and grenadiers were separated from their regiments and were organized into special battalions to be used for the most dangerous tasks.¹⁵ The light infantry companies of Gage’s army in Boston, for example, including that of the 10th Regiment, formed the force that marched on Lexington and Concord.¹⁶ By June 4, 1776 two light infantry battalions had been formed and the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry comprised the flank companies of the 4th, 5th, 10th, 17th, 22nd, 23rd, 27th, 35th, and 38th Regiments.¹⁷ A third battalion was created when the British who had been repulsed at Charleston joined Howe in August, 1776, but before the Philadelphia campaign the three battalions were reorganized into two, with the 10th Light Infantry Company remaining in the 1st Battalion. Both battalions existed for the duration of the Revolution and surrendered with Cornwallis at Yorktown.¹⁸

Stirke’s journal shows that he and his fellow light infantrymen seldom lacked an opportunity to fight during a campaign. As another light infantry officer said: “We have always some-

¹² *Ibid.*, 97-98.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 112, 124-35. General James Wolf used light infantry in the Quebec campaign and Howe, then a colonel, and twenty-four light infantrymen under his command were the first to land in the attack on that French stronghold (*ibid.*, 94-95).

¹⁴ Edward E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1926), 4-5, 17 (hereafter Curtis).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Atkinson, 6; Lee, I, 220-21.

¹⁷ Atkinson, 6-7; *ibid.*, Part II, XIX (Autumn, 1940), 163-66.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Part I, 10, 12; Part II, 164-65.

thing to do and something to expect; if *atra cura* is anywhere to be avoided, it is in a Light Infantry Company in America.”¹⁹ Perhaps that is why Stirke’s account is always concerned with things of the moment. Unlike several other British officers who kept journals, he never gives general news, descriptions of the land, nor does he question his superiors’ actions.²⁰ Yet he presents an intensely interesting account of the war as seen from the level of a junior officer “who bore the heat of the day, and had to suffer from the mismanagement of . . . [his] superiors.”²¹

The journal is printed as written, with these exceptions: a dash or a series of dashes at the end of a sentence has been replaced by a period; and marginal comments in the text have been placed in brackets and italicized and appear immediately after the marks Stirke used to indicate them.

1776 A Journal—from Halifax

June

10th At 9 O’Clock, a Signal to unmoore, at 5 O’Clock in the Evening, the Fleet, under the Command of Admiral Shouldham,²² and Gen^l How,²³ consisting of above 200 Sail got under way. We are to be join’d by Lord How,²⁴ and from many Circumstances we have reason to imagine our Destination is New-York.

11th Clear weather.

12th Foggy, thick weather, ’till 12 O’Clock, then Clear.

13th Clear Weather, with a fine fair Breese.

14th Wind fair.

15th Wind Contrary.

16th Wind Unfavourable, at night very high, with heavy rain thunder, and lightening.

¹⁹ Robson, 37.

²⁰ For comparison with Stirke’s almost laconic style, see: *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie* (2 vol.; Cambridge, Mass., 1930), I (hereafter *Mackenzie*); *Journals of Lieut.-Col. Stephen Kemble*, New York Historical Society, *Collections* (1883) (hereafter *Kemble*).

²¹ Robson, XXII.

²² Lord Molyneux Shuldham (1717 [?]–1798), the British commander-in-chief on the North American coast. He was supplanted by Lord Howe in June, 1776. *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*).

²³ Lt.-Gen. William Howe (1729–1814), who had the rank of general in America. *D.N.B.*

²⁴ Richard Howe, Earl Howe (1726–1799), William Howe’s elder brother. He was made commander-in-chief in America in Feb., 1776, but did not arrive there until July, 1776. *DNB*.

- 17th Sea very high, with thick foggy weather, heavy Showers, with thunder, and lightening.
- 18th Clear weather, sea quite down, wind Contrary. half past 2 O'Clock, spoke with the Landsdowne, 8 Weeks out from Cork, with recruits for the Army join'd the fleet off Hallifax Letters on board her, for my Wife,²⁵ my Brother,²⁶ and myself.
- 19th Wind fair, with Cloudy weather. Most part of this day lay too.
- 20th Wind fair—sent on board the Lansdown, for my letters. About 2 o'Clock this day a very melancholly accident happen'd; a Portuguese Sailor belonging to the Nautilus merchantman, slip'd between our Transport, and their boat, and was drowned. We lay too all this day; suppos'd to be waiting for the Fleet that is to join us—at 6 O'Clock the fleet Set Sail.
- 21st Wind fair, with fine Clear weather. This day a report prevails in the fleet, that the Ranger Transport, with 4 Companies of the 2^d B: of L^t Infantry, is taken by the Rebels; but, which report, we have reason to think is without foundation, as we were not near the Coast when we parted her, in thick weather.
- 22^d A fair, Light breese—about 9 O'Clock at night, two Sharks appear'd about the Vessel, & continued Close to us, a Considerable time; but wou'd not take the bait we had thrown out for them.
- 23^d A fair, Light Breese. This morning a Sun-Fish appear'd, close along Side the Vessel.
- 24th Wind favourable.
- 25th A dead Calm, and very Sultry—in the Evening a light breese.
- 26th Very Sultry in the morning, at 11 O'Clock a fine Cooling breese. 12 O'Clock we sounded, and found 64 fathom Water. this evening the Cerberus Frigate, and Merlin Sloop of War, join'd the fleet, with small prise.²⁷ They bring an acct of L^d Cornwallis's²⁸ arrival at Sandy Hook
- 27th Calme, and light breezes.
- 28th Wind fair. Join'd this day by the Liverpool Frigate, 3 days from New-York; with an acct of Gen^l Howe's arrival in

²⁵ Aside from this reference, there is no other indication in the Journal that Stirke's wife accompanied him to America.

²⁶ There was a Captain Julius Stirke in the 10th Regiment, who could have been Henry brother. Ford, 168.

²⁷ An American whaling ship. *Kemble*, 78.

²⁸ Charles Cornwallis, first Marquis and second Earl (1738-1805). *DNB*

the Greyhound at Sandy-Hook; ²⁹ and the Empress of Russia, with the 22^d Reg^t; She parted from the fleet in thick Weather.

29th This morning at 6 O'Clock we discover'd land, it is the entrance of the River, going up to New-York. A fine light breeze. A little after Ten a Signal for Commanding Officers of Corps to report on board the Admiral. At 11 got a Pilot, and came to an Anchor, at half after 2 O'Clock, inside Sandy Hook.³⁰ The Ranger [*Ship report'd to be taken—*] had arriv'd before us. We were inform'd that the friends to Government here, were very numerous, that many of them have been used in a very Cruel manner by the Rebels, and only waited for a favourable Opportunity of joining the Kings Troops.

30th Expected to Land this day.

July

1st Weigh'd Anchor at 5 O'Clock in the evening, and proceeded up the River; came to an Anchor about nine, just below the Narrows; ³¹ to morrow morning at 4 O'Clock we expect to land upon Long Island; under Cover of the Men of War.

2^d We are disappointed in our landing this morning; what 'tis owing too, I can't tell.³² Now 'tis thought we shall proceed up to the Town, before we make a landing; but that is all Conjecture. at half after 9 O'Clock, the fleet got under way; at 20 Minutes after Eleven was oblig'd to come to an Anchor, within the Narrows, as the Wind Shifted.³³ at 4 O'Clock a boat from long Island, with some of the Inhabitants join'd the fleet. The Light Infantry,

²⁹ Howe had sailed into New York harbor on June 25, 1776. Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (2 vol.; New York, 1952), I, 209 (hereafter Ward).

³⁰ Almost one hundred ships had cast anchor within Sandy Hook by two o'clock. Douglas S. Freeman, *George Washington* (7 vol.; New York, 1947-1957), IV, 127 (hereafter Freeman).

³¹ The fleet anchored about two miles off Gravesend Bay. Harry Lydenberg (ed.), *Archibald Robertson. His Diaries and Sketches in America 1762-1780* (New York, 1930), p. 86 (hereafter Robertson).

³² Long Island was the original goal of the army, but at a conference of the expedition's leaders that plan was discarded and Howe decided to land on Staten Island and await reinforcements. Robertson, 86; Charles Stedman, *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (2 vol.; London, 1794), I, 191 (hereafter Stedman).

³³ The fleet anchored so close to land that Americans could fire muskets at it, but they failed to harm the ships as they had no cannon. Robertson, 86.

Grenadiers,⁸⁴ and first Brigade are now under Orders to land: the Flat bottom'd boats are along side each Transport, and we only wait for the Signal to go board them. at 5 O'Clock the fleet got under way, the Tenders, and Small Vessels, keep in close shore, and fired on the Rebels, as the[y] appear'd in small parties; and at the Houses. Made our Landing on Staten Island, at 8 O'Clock at night, without a Shot being fired; as the Rebels abandon'd it, on the appearance of the Troops. This night we lay upon our Arms.⁸⁵

4th This morning a little after day-light, the Rebels fired from the Opposite Shore, on one of our Tenders, and Kill'd one Man, and Wounded two or three.⁸⁶

12th This day the Phenix and Rose Frigates, proceeded up to New-York, and took their Station above the Town without the least loss; 'tho the Rebels kept up an Incessant fire upon them from all their Batteries, as Soon almost as they made their appearance; and which was not return'd by the Ships, 'till they got within 40, or 50 yards of the Town.⁸⁷ In the evening L^d Howe arriv'd; he sail'd from England before the fleet, and Call'd at Hallifax.⁸⁸

Aug^t

20th Yesterday, and this day; the Brigades embark'd on board their Transports; and the Hessians took up their Quarters.

⁸⁴ In 1677 the tallest and strongest men in a regiment had been organized as grenadiers, with the duty of throwing hand grenades at the enemy. By 1774 the grenades had been discarded, but the grenadiers remained and continued to form the flower of a regiment. Curtis, 4-5.

⁸⁵ With the completion of the debarkation, 23,000 British and 8,000 Hessian troops, the best expeditionary force the British had ever created, settled down on Staten Island, to the delight of a majority of the island's inhabitants. Henry P. Johnston, *The Campaign of 1776 Around New York and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1878), pp. 132-33 (hereafter Johnston); Ward, I, 209; Thomas Jones, *History of New York During the Revolutionary War* (2 vol.; New York, 1879), I, 103 (hereafter Jones).

⁸⁶ The casualties occurred on the *George*, which also had to be placed in dock for repairs. Kemble, 79.

⁸⁷ The *Phoenix*, forty guns, and *Rose*, twenty guns, plus a schooner and two tenders, escaped serious damage from any of the 196 missiles fired at them as they passed up the North River; and they so entranced the Americans by their effrontery that Washington had to reprimand the troops the next day for paying more attention to the vessels than to their duties. An attack by several small American craft on Aug. 3 failed to force the British ships down the river, but fire rafts accomplished that purpose on Aug. 16. Robertson, 89; Freeman, IV, 135-37, 144, 151.

⁸⁸ Lord Howe sailed into New York on the *Eagle*. In the following weeks he made a fruitless attempt to negotiate with Washington, during which time the British were reinforced by Hessians and Sir Henry Clinton's soldiers, who had been repulsed at Charleston. Only on Aug. 20 did the King's troops begin to stir. Robertson, 90; Ward, I, 209; Freeman, IV, 137 *et passim*.

- 2000 of them, with the broken Corps, & Convalesants, are to remain on the Island.
- 21st The L^t Infantry chang'd their quarters to near the Landing place, to be in readiness to embark on the shortest notice.
- 22^d The Army landed on Long Island, at 7 O'Clock in the morning; without the least Opposition.³⁹
- 24th The Advanc'd Guard of the Army, took post at Flat-Ground.⁴⁰
- 25th Numbers of the Inhabitants drove from their Houses, by the *Rebels*; came in, in great distress. This morning a Corporal of the 4th Light Company was wounded in the Eye, by one of the Rascally Rifle men.
- 26th March'd all Night, and took 5 Rebel officers prisoners; they were mounted, and fell in with us in the dark; supposing us to be a party of their own troops.⁴¹
- 27th This morning about 7 O'Clock we engag'd the *Rebels* in the Woods round *Bedford*; ⁴² their Rifle Men were very numerous. By the acc^t we receiv'd by prisoners, 3000 oppos'd the two Battalions of light Infantry which we drove with great slaughter, and very little loss on our side, 'tho their first fire was very heavy. The defeat of the *Rebels* now became general; and we have taken some Cannon (our Battalion one) with a great many Colours, and above 1000 prisoners; ⁴³ among which is L^d Sterling ⁴⁴ and Gen^l Sullivan.⁴⁵ We are now in Search of more.

³⁹ By noon about 15,000 men and forty cannon had been transported from Staten Island to Long Island, landing in Gravesend Bay, near the village of New Utrecht. Standing off shore, several frigates and two bomb ketches had waited to aid the debarking troops, but American opposition did not materialize. *Robertson*, 93; William B. Wilcox (ed.), *The American Rebellion* (New Haven, 1954), p. 40 (hereafter Willcox); *Freeman*, IV, 154; *Ward*, I, 211.

⁴⁰ Flatlands, near Flatbush.

⁴¹ Only skirmishing had occurred between the Americans on the Heights of Guan before Brooklyn and the British below those hills since Aug. 22, but at 9 p.m. on Aug. 26 a powerful British force began a flanking movement aimed at Jamaica Pass, on the American left. When an English patrol captured the only American patrol watching the pass, the avenue to attack the left rear of the Americans was opened for the enterprising British. Thomas W. Field, *The Battle of Long Island* (Brooklyn, 1869), pp. 152-58 (hereafter Field); *Ward*, I, 212; *Johnston*, 160, 175-80.

⁴² About three miles east of Jamaica Pass.

⁴³ Stirke's battalion helped to lead the early morning attack on the American left, which, in conjunction with determined British action on the American right flank, produced an American debacle. The Americans lost about one thousand men, while the British suffered 360 casualties. *Freeman*, IV, 165-67; *Johnston*, 161-74, 180, 204; *Robertson*, 94.

⁴⁴ Brig.-Gen. William Alexander (Dec. 26, 1726-Jan. 15, 1783), better known as Lord Stirling. He was exchanged by the British soon after his capture. *DAB*.

⁴⁵ Maj.-Gen. John Sullivan (Feb. 17, 1740-Jan. 23, 1795). Sullivan was subsequently exchanged for Gen. Richard Prescott. *DAB*.

29th This day the Light Infantry kill'd 3 Riffle Men, and took one Prisoner.

30th The 1st Battalion of L^t Infantry took post at Hell-Gate Ferry. This day the Rebels abandon'd all their Works on long Island;⁴⁶ and the Men of War got possession of Kings Island, and took 700 Prisoners.⁴⁷

Sept^r

8th At day break we open'd our Batteries at Hell-Gate ferry consisting of 3 Twenty four pounders, 3 Twelve pounders and 10 Royals.⁴⁸ The firing was very hot all day, which damag'd the Rebel works considerably; The[y] return'd our fire with only 2 Guns; 'till towards Evening, when several shells were thrown, which fell among the Houses we are quarter'd in, without doing us any damage. Our loss at the Battery, was a Sailor Kill'd, and a man of the 17th Light Com^y wounded.

9th An Artillery Man had his thigh shot off, and he died soon after.⁴⁹

10th At 7 O'Clock in the morning, the 1st and 2^d Battalions of Light Infantry landed on * [** Call'd by they Soldiers Barren Island.*] Buchannons Island,⁵⁰ below Hell-Gate; one of the Rebel Centrys fired three times at the boat I was in, before he Retreated, and wounded (I fear mortally) * [** He died a few days after.*] a man of my Company.

11th In the evening we took post on Montrossors Island.⁵¹ The 2^d Battalion of Light Infantry landed there yesterday—part of the 1st Brigade succeeded us on the Island we left.

14th The two battalions of Light Infantry, return'd to Long Island at 10 O'Clock at Night.

⁴⁶ Instead of attacking the American fortifications in front of Brooklyn after his victory on Aug. 27, Howe resorted to siege tactics and thus gave Washington the opportunity to ferry his army to Manhattan during the night of Aug. 29. Johnston, 212, 221-24.

⁴⁷ Governor's Island. Contrary to Stirke, the Americans successfully evacuated its garrison. Stedman, I, 199; Bernhard A. Uhlendorf (trans.), *Revolution in America* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1957), p. 40 (hereafter Uhlendorf).

⁴⁸ The British had erected two batteries between Sept. 4-6 at Hell Gate, across from Horn's Hook (now Carl Schurz Park, near 89th Street and East End Avenue), where the Americans had placed some cannon on high ground. Robertson, 95; Bruce Bliven, *Battle for Manhattan* (New York, 1955), 19 (hereafter Bliven); Mackenzie, I, 41.

⁴⁹ During the night the Americans repaired their works and bombarded the British batteries in the morning, dismounting one or two of their cannon. Robertson, 92; Mackenzie, I, 41.

⁵⁰ Buchanan's Island, now Ward's Island.

⁵¹ Randall's Island.

- 15th The Army landed on York-Island about 11 O'Clock in the morning a little above Turtle Bay, under Cover of the Men of War.⁵² They Rebels appear'd in great numb^{rs} and seem'd inclin'd to make a Vigorous Opposition; but the heavy, and well directed fire, from they Frigates that cover'd our landing, soon dispers'd them; and the Army landed with^{out} the loss of a Man.
- 16th The 2^d and 3^d Battalion of Light Infantry was attack'd from the skirts of a Wood, by a large party of the Rebels, which they drove back, but advancing to near their Works, got a check; 'till a reinforcement coming up (Consisting of a Highland battalion,⁵³ and a battalion of Grenadiers) soon turn'd the Scale, and planted Victory on our Side.⁵⁴
- 22^d About 1 O'Clock in the morning a fire broke out in New-York, which Consum'd about a fourth part of the City. It was set fire to in different places, by some of they Rebels that Conceal'd themselves in the Town— several were caught in the very fact, and immediately put to death; and others have been taken up on Suspicion. Two very handsome Churches, Gen^l Robinsons⁵⁵ House, and Valuable furniture, with many other fine Houses, were reduc'd to Ashes.⁵⁶

Oct^r

- 2^d The Light Infantry march'd from the Pass near Harlem, and took up their Quarters, on the North Side of the Island

⁵² The British landing, with the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry in the van, had been preceded by heavy naval fire that helped to forment panic in the untried American militia that waited behind uncompleted fortifications. When the redcoats jumped from their boats, the Americans fled and only a few Hessians were killed. *Mackenzie*, I, 46-48; *Freeman*, IV, 192-95; *Ward*, I, 244-45; *Johnston*, 234.

⁵³ The 42nd Regiment, or Black Watch. *Ward*, I, 248.

⁵⁴ The Battle of Harlem Heights. An American attack on advancing British light infantry began near the present General Grant Housing Project (123rd-124th Streets, between Broadway and Amsterdam Avenues), and succeeded in forcing the British back to 111th Street. This retreat, the first forced by the Americans, bouyed American morale and caused Howe and other British officers to criticize the light infantry for its rash advance. *Johnston*, 230; *Bliven*, 21, 84 *et passim*; *Freeman*, IV, 202-03; *Robertson*, 99; *Mackenzie*, I, 51; *Unlendorf*, 49-50; *Edward H. Tatum* (ed.), *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle* (San Marino, Calif., 1940), 107-08 (hereafter *Serle*).

⁵⁵ Maj.-Gen. James Robertson (1720[?]–1788). Robertson initially lived in William Street, close to John Street, and then in Hanover Square. *DNB*; *Benson J. Lossing*, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* (2 vol.; New York, 1852), II, n. 1, 835 (hereafter *Lossing*).

⁵⁶ For several contemporary accounts of the fire, see I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (5 vol.; New York, 1926), V, 1020-24.

about 4 miles from New-York. The 10th Reg^t succeeded them, in the advanc'd post.⁵⁷

- 11th The Light Infantry, Grenadiers and part of the Army, embark'd in flat Boats, at Turtle bay about 11 O'Clock at night; and remain'd in they boats, 'till morning.
- 12th Proceeded down they Rapids call'd Hell Gate, and Landed at 1/2 after 9 O'Clock in the morning at Frog-Neck,⁵⁸ about 5 mile below Kings Bridge⁵⁹ without the least Opposition. In coming down the Rapids a very unlucky Accident happen'd; one of the Gun-boats runing foul of a Ship, was sunk, and 2 Artillery men was drowned.⁶⁰
- 17th The L^t Infantry, Grenadiers, and one Brigade, with a body of Hessians; march'd at 1 O'Clock but the morning setting in with very heavy rain, and high wind; oblig'd us to return to our Quarters, at 1/2 after 3 O'Clock.
- 18th *The body of men mention'd yesterday; march'd this morning* at 1 O'Clock; embark'd in they flat boats, and landed at half after 8 O'Clock, on the opposite side of a small Creek below Frog Neck,⁶¹ (which divided it from Pells-Neck) without opposition, (except a Centrys firing two shots) but had not advanc'd above a quarter of a mile; before we receiv'd a very heavy fire, as we march'd up a Hill, from behind Stone Walls, pickets &c. by which I had 1 Serj^t Kill'd,* [*Since dead*] another, with a private man Wounded. The 1st Battalion of L^t Infantry push'd the Rebels from fence to fence, without being Sustain'd, 'till about 2 O'Clock when a battalion of Hessian Grenadiers came up; with them we took possession of some heights, about 6 miles below Kings-bridge. The Grenadiers, and 1st brigade, mov'd on by our Right, and took post on they Heights of Rochell; about 1 mile farther advanc'd.⁶² Our

⁵⁷ The light infantry and grenadiers moved from the advanced line at Harlem back to Bloomingdale. *Mackenzie*, I, 68; *Robertson*, 100.

⁵⁸ Often Throg's Neck or Point; now Fort Schuyler Park in the Bronx. The Americans destroyed the bridge connecting the neck with mainland and thus frustrated this move of Howe. *Jones*, I, Note XXXIX, 620-21; *Bliven*, 105; *Willcox*, 49; *Stedman*, I, 210.

⁵⁹ King's Bridge connected the northern end of Manhattan Island with West Chester County.

⁶⁰ Other accounts state that at least four men and three six-pounder cannon were lost in the accident. *Mackenzie*, I, 77, 85; *Willcox*, 49; *Uhlendorf*, 58; *Serle*, 123.

⁶¹ The British landed on Pell's Point's near Pelham Bay Park. *Bliven*, 105.

⁶² Col. John Glover, with about 750 men, skillfully resisted the advance of the British, who finally halted on the heights of Pelham Manor. The British

loss, was our Commanding Officer,* [* *Captⁿ Evyline* ⁶³ *Since dead.*] 1 Captⁿ and 1 Subtⁿ wounded; 2 Serj^{ts} Kill'd, 1 Wounded; and 28 R^k and file Kill'd, & Wounded.

- 19th Gen^l Lee's ⁶⁴ Orderly Man deserted to us, and brought in his Horse, and Cloak.
- 21st The Army took post on the heights of New-Rochelle, without Opposition.
- 22^d The 3^d Battalion of Light Infantry march'd to sustain Colonel Roger's ⁶⁵ Corp, posted in the front of the Army, who were attack'd by the Rebels, in which the[y] lost some men.⁶⁶
- 23^d About 1 O'Clock, the Light Infantry, some Battalions, with Hessian Chasseurs,⁶⁷ and a party of Light Horse; were sent out to Examine the Ground between our Encampment, and y^e Rebels on the North River: The Rebels appear'd in small partys at a great distance, but always retreated as we advanc'd. The Chasseurs lost two, or three men. We return'd about 6 O'Clock the same evening.⁶⁸
- 25th The Army march'd at 9 O'Clock in the morning, and towards evening Encamp'd Opposite a Rebel Encampment; with a small Rivelet between; ⁶⁹ they picquets within musquet Shot of each other. We did not meet with the least Opposition on our march. They Light Dragoons took 2 of the Rebel advanc'd Centrys prisoners.
- 27th At 2 O'Clock This morning we observ'd that they Rebel fires were extinguis'd; and when day appear'd, that they had Struck their Tents, and abandon'd the Ground. About

left ran to East Chester Creek and their right to New Rochelle, creating a front of nearly two miles, running north or northeast. Ward, I, 257-58; *Robertson*, 104.

⁶³ Capt. W. Glanville Evelyn. Ford, 67.

⁶⁴ Gen. Charles Lee (1731-Oct. 2, 1782). *DAB*.

⁶⁵ Robert Rogers (Nov. 7, 1731-May 18, 1795), who first gained fame with his ranger companies during the French and Indian War. For a short time early in the Revolution, he commanded the Queen's American Rangers, a loyalist outfit. *DAB*; John R. Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers* (New York, 1959), 266 *et passim* (hereafter Cuneo).

⁶⁶ Rogers' Queen's Rangers were posted at Mamaroneck, where this American night attack almost completely surprised them. Cuneo, 271-72; Ward, I, 258-59.

⁶⁷ The light troops, or Jägers, of the Hessian and other German mercenaries. Uhlendorf, 16.

⁶⁸ Gen. Clinton led over two thousand men on this reconnoitering expedition about one and a half miles to the East Chester Road. Only the Hessians suffered casualties, probably between five and nine wounded. *Robertson*, 104-05; *Mackenzie*, I, 87.

⁶⁹ The British had moved up about two miles to the East Chester Road, with the Bronx River before them. *Robertson*, 105.

- 7 O'Clock we heard a very heavy Cannonade, which we suppos'd to be from they men of war in the North River.⁷⁰
- 28th The Army march'd at 1/2 after 7 O'Clock for the White Plains, and dislog'd several large parties of Rebels, that threw themselves into they Woods, in our front in order to impede our march; but on our field pieces being fired into they Woods, they immediately Run. About 1 O'Clock y^e Hessian Grenadiers, with the 2^d Brigade, and some Light Dragoons; * [** Here Lt Col Carr,⁷¹ of y^e 35th Reg^t was Kill'd.*] attack'd a large Body of the Rebels, very advantageously posted on a Hill,⁷² behind Stone Walls; from which they receiv'd a very heavy fire as they Advanc'd; but y^e Rebels were soon drove from them, tho' not without Some loss on our Side.*⁷³ [** I had a very troublesome Picquet, at y^e entrance of y^e Village at daylight my Centrys were fired on w^h continued by popping shots all day. I had one man w^d*] All this night the Rebels seem'd in great Confusion; we heard their Drums beat several times for Orders and a number of Waggon, and Carts moving; which we suppose were employ'd in removing their Stores &c out of the Village.⁷⁴
- 31st This morning the Army was in motion at 5 O'Clock, in order to Attack the Rebels, and drive them from they Hills the[y] are in possession of, opposite our Encampment; but the morning proving very Wet, we return'd to our Ground, about 7 O'Clock.

Nov^r

- 1st This morning we observ'd the Rebels setting fire to several Houses, and destroying the Country,⁷⁵ and by a *Gentleman*

⁷⁰ Probably the fire of two British frigates against Fort Washington. Freeman, IV, 226.

⁷¹ Lieut-Col. Robert Carr. Ford, 44.

⁷² Chatterton's Hill, about a mile from White Plains and west of the Bronx River. This hill, rising 180 feet above the Bronx, stood on the American right and formed the key to Washington's position at White Plains. Freeman, IV, 227-31; Otto Hufeland, *Westchester County During the American Revolution, 1775-1783* (Privately printed, 1926), 136 (hereafter Hufeland).

⁷³ Howe sent Hessian and British troops up Chatterton's Hill against direct enemy fire and those troops were repulsed twice. Then, in conjunction with a Hessian attack from the left, they took the position and threatened the whole American army. Hufeland, 141-42; M. Wallace, *Appeal to Arms* (New York, 1951), 120 (hereafter Wallace).

⁷⁴ While Howe dallied, Washington began to remove supplies from White Plains. Freeman, IV, 232.

⁷⁵ Some Americans set fire to houses in White Plains in order to deny them to the enemy, but Washington prohibited such acts on Nov. 2. Jones, I, Note XL, 624.

that came in yesterday, we have intelligence that the Rebels are retreating to their lines in Connecticut.⁷⁶ At half after 9 O'Clock we got under Arms, and push'd into the Village of the White plains, which y^e Enemy had just Abandon'd, and the Army Advanc'd at the same time: We receiv'd a few Stragling Shot, which did no execution. The 15th Reg^t had one man kill'd, and another Wounded, by the Rebel Cannon; and the Hessians 4 or 5 men Kill'd and Wounded. This Village is 30 miles from New-York, on the Road to New England.

5th The Army March'd towards y^e North River,⁷⁷ the Light Infantry Grenadiers, and Reserve, with the Hessian Chasseurs and some Light Dragoons brought up the Rear; and took up the Ground, the Rebels had been drove from on the 18th of last month. This night the Rebels set fire to the remaining house[s] in the Village.⁷⁸

6th At 1/2 after 8 O'Clock this morning we began our march, and at 2 O'Clock encamp'd in the Rear of the Army, near the North River. The Rebels Contented themselves with observing our motions at a distance, without venturing to Attack us.

7th All the heavy Cannon mov'd on towards Kings Bridge, in order to Invest Fort Washington,⁷⁹ on York Island; into which a body of the Rebels have retired, after abandoning y^e Bridge.

9th The 1st, and Second battalion of Light Infantry, with a small party of Hessian Chasseurs, to each battalion; march'd at 6 O'Clock in the evening, and about 12 O'Clock, encamp'd, near Col^l Phillips' House⁸⁰—20 miles from New York.

⁷⁶ Washington retreated about a mile to already prepared lines. *Robertson*, 107; *Jones*, I, Note XL, 623.

⁷⁷ The British marched towards Dobbs Ferry. *Ward*, I, 268.

⁷⁸ A Massachusetts militia major, J. W. Austin, and his men robbed and burned the buildings left in White Plains from the first fire. Washington denounced that conduct on Nov. 6 and had Austin court martialed two days later, which only resulted in a reprimand. But Gen. Lee tried Austin again and this time he was cashiered. *Jones*, I, Note XL, 625.

⁷⁹ Fort Washington stood on the highest land on Manhattan Island, near present 183rd Street, overlooking the Hudson River and nearly opposite to Fort Lee in New Jersey. Fort Washington had been erected to hamper British naval operations on the Hudson, but neither the fort nor its outworks had been completed. *Wallace*, 121; *Freeman*, IV, 243.

⁸⁰ Philipse Manor, home of Col. Frederick Philipse, a Tory. The house still stands, at the corner of Warburton Avenue and Dock Street in Yonkers, and is open to the public.

- 12th This morning the Army march'd towards Kings bridge. And the 1st battalion of Light Infantry march'd to cover their left flank, and took post on hill, about 3 miles, in the rear of our Encampment, towards y^e White plains: 'till the Army had pass'd, and about 4 O'Clock in the Evening, we return'd to our Ground.
- 13th At 9 O'Clock this morning we march'd to Valentine Hills, where we took post. Here the Rebels had a Square Fort, which the[y] abandon'd and left a quantity of Rum, and other stores behind them.⁸¹
- 14th Took post on some hills, about a mile above Kings bridge.
- 15th We march'd to Head Quarters at De Lancys Mill; about 3 miles to the left of Kings bridge.
- 16th This morning the Army made 4 different Attacks on the Rebels lines, and Works, on the Heights, round Fort Washington, on York Island; which were carried with very little loss. Our Battalion not a man Kill'd, or Wounded. The Hessian Grenadiers suffer'd most.⁸²
- 18th We return'd to the post we had left, near Kings Bridge.
- 20th We landed in the Jerseys', after passing a very disagreeable night in the Flat boats, under a thick heavy Rain.⁸³ The Guards, with y^e Brittish, and Hessian Grenadiers; and the Cannon succeded us; which were oblig'd to be drawn up almost a Precipice, above a half mile in length, by men, as it was impassable for Horses.* [** The 10th and 17th Companys were to make the 1st land^g with orders to push up the hill, with as much expedition as possible to take post; and maintain it, 'till sustain'd*] Our landing was not oppos'd ('tho under so many disadvantages) certainly owing to their not expecting us in that Quarter. On our march to Fort Lee,⁸⁴ we took some prisoners; the Fort is about ten miles from where we landed, which y^e Rebels abandon'd on our approach, and in Such Confusion as to leave their Cannon, Stores, &c., with their Tents Standing near the

⁸¹ Valentine's Hill is near Yonkers, just west of Mile Square.

⁸² The attackers' losses were seventy-eight killed and 374 wounded, out of which the Hessians lost fifty-eight killed and 272 wounded. Ward, I, 274.

⁸³ Stirke and his fellow soldiers crossed the Hudson below Dobbs Ferry and landed at present Alpine, New Jersey; the house used by Cornwallis as his headquarters has been restored. *Ibid.*, 256-57; *New Jersey: American Guide Series* (New York, 1939), 437.

⁸⁴ Fort Lee stood on the Palisades, across from what is now 160th Street in New York. It was just below Fort Washington.

Fort, all which fell into our hands. The military Stores &c taken this day is suppos'd to be worth £3000 Sterg.⁸⁵

- 21st We push'd on to New-Bridge,⁸⁶ where the Rebels (on our appearance) began to set fire to their Stores, and some houses; but on Our Advancing to the bridge, the[y] fled without effecting as much Mischief as intended; as a good part of the Stores fell into Our hands.⁸⁷ On the march one of our flanking partys, fell in which a Rebel advanc'd Guard and kill'd 2, or three of them. This day a body of Light Dragoons landed, and join'd us. At night we took post at Old Bridge,⁸⁸ which y^e *Dasterdly Rebels*, had broke down, to stop the pursuit. 22 miles from New-York.
- 22^d Number of the Inhabitants came in to take the Oaths of Allegiance.
- 26th The Light Infantry, Grenadiers, and Guards; with Hessian Chasseurs, and Light Dragoons, march'd at 3 O'Clock in the morning to the Village of Hackquackinack,⁸⁹ but the Rebels breaking down the Bridge, oblig'd us to ford the River about a mile above the Village. Our field pieces play'd into the Woods above the ford, to prevent y^e lurking *Scoundrels*, from annoying us in Crossing the River. This Village is 14 miles from New-York.
- 27th March'd about 5 miles towards Newark, and took post on some heights, by *Second River*.⁹⁰ We saw a few Rebels at a great distance.
- 28th March'd to Newark. Was informed that y^e Rebels had left the Town, that morning.⁹¹
- 29th March'd thro' Elizabeth-Town and took post between that & Woodbridge.⁹² The Rebels we hear have push'd on to Brunswick.
- 30th March'd to Amboy.⁹³

⁸⁵ Although Washington averted the capture of about two thousand men, the enemy seized over two hundred tents, almost one thousand barrels of flour, and almost all the troops' entrenching tools and baggage. The Americans departed from Fort Lee so hurriedly that the British found boiling breakfast kettles awaiting them as they marched in. Freeman, IV, 257-58; Ward, I, 277.

⁸⁶ About three miles north of Hackensack, where the British crossed the Hackensack River.

⁸⁷ Four hundred thousand musket cartridges, were taken by the British. Robertson, 113.

⁸⁸ Old Bridge was about a mile north of New Bridge.

⁸⁹ Acquackanonk Bridge, now Passaic. This is where the British crossed the Passaic River.

⁹⁰ Now Bellville, just north of Newark.

⁹¹ Freeman states that just as the British marched into Newark the American rearguard moved out, but without being pursued. Freeman, IV, 267.

⁹² Woodbridge is just north of Perth Amboy.

⁹³ Perth Amboy.

Dec^r

- 1st We march'd towards Brunswick. On our appearing on the heights before the Town; the Rebels began to abandon it, with all y^e expedition possible: We fired on them a Cross the River,⁹⁴ from our fieldpieces; which was return'd for sometime. As the Rebels took care to demolish part of the bridge, we cou'd not prevent their Carrying off some of their stores &c. The Hessians lost a Captⁿ,⁹⁵ kill'd by a Rifle, and a Grenadier by a Cannon ball. Having the bridge repaired, we took possession of the Town, in which the Rebels left several of their Sick, and Dead.
- 6th His Excellency Gen^l How arriv'd.⁹⁶
- 7th The Army march'd to [scratched out] Prince Town; the Light Infantry took post about a mile beyond it; when we saw a small body of the Rebels, destroying a bridge, which the[y] effected, before we cou'd drive them off.
- 8th March'd to Trent-Town; ⁹⁷ met with no Opposition; 'till we arriv'd at the River Delaware just between the Town, & the Ferry; where (just as we halted) we receiv'd a very heavy Cannonade from the opposite Side of the River,⁹⁸ which (before we could get under cover of a hill, at the back of the Town) Kill'd one of the dismounted Dragoons wounded a man of 27th light Company, and * [* *died soon after*] an Artillery man.
- 14th We march'd to Pennytown.⁹⁹ All the army now in motion, going into Winter Quarters. Yesterday morning that *Arch Traytor*, and *Rebel*, Gen^l Lee was taken. He was surpris'd in a house, almost within View of his Army; by the Hon^{ble} Lt Col: Harcourt, with a small party of Light Dragoons.¹⁰⁰
- 15th The 1st and 2^d Battalions of Light Infantry, arriv'd at Prince Town; appointed for their Winter Quarters. That unlucky

⁹⁴ Raritan River.

⁹⁵ Capt. von Weitershausen received a mortal wound at the bridge and died on Dec. 2. Unlendorf, 73-74.

⁹⁶ Cornwallis and his troops had remained in Brunswick since Dec. 1, at Howe's order. Stedman (I, 219) wrote that the enforced inactivity of Cornwallis had "saved the panic-struck and fleeing army of the Americans from utter ruin."

⁹⁷ Trenton.

⁹⁸ One account says the Americans had thirty-six cannon and nine mortars, while another says they had but eight or nine guns. Uhlendorf, 74; *Robertson*, 115.

⁹⁹ Pennington, about four miles southwest of Princeton.

¹⁰⁰ Lieut-Col. William Harcourt (1743-1830) captured Gen. Lee on Dec. 13, 1776 at Basking Ridge, New Jersey. For this exploit, Harcourt received the thanks of Parliament and was made a king's aide-de-camp. *DNB*.

affair of Colonel Rall's, at Trent-Town, happening soon after; caus'd a Gen^l change of Quarters in the Jerseys, to the Whole army. The Light Infantry took post at the Bridge of Brunswick,¹⁰¹ about a mile above the Town; where we spent a very Disagreeable Winter, continually harrass'd in Observing the motions of the Enemy, collecting forage &c. On an expedition of the latter * [* *On Febv 1st*] Lt Cuningham¹⁰² of the 22^d Light Comp^y was kill'd.¹⁰³

1777

July

2^d The Army abandon'd the Jerseys and Landed on Staten Island.

9th The Army under the Command of S^tW^m How, compleated their Embarkation, at the Narrows.¹⁰⁴

20th Fell down to Sandy Hook.

23^d Sail'd. The 1st Battalion of Light Infantry, in the following Transports: The Christie, E. of Oxford, Spring, and Ocean Brig.¹⁰⁵ 2^d Battalion in the Betsey, Jenny, Mercury, and Hunter.

Aug^t

17th Arriv'd in Chesapeak Bay. 'Till this day, the wind had been Contrary.¹⁰⁶

19th A man of the 22^d Light Company fell over board, and was drowned.

25th We got into they flat Boats at 3 O'Clock in y^e morning, and landed at 1/2 after 10 O'Clock within 7 miles of the head of Elk River, in Maryland, without Opposition.¹⁰⁷

28th March'd at 5 O'Clock in the morning, and arriv'd about 9 O'Clock at Elk Village, on the head of y^e River, some

¹⁰¹ New Brunswick.

¹⁰² Probably Lt. George Augustus Cunnighame, 22nd Regiment. Ford, 55.

¹⁰³ This foraging party of about a thousand British had marched towards Metuchen and suffered an American attack just after its wagons had been loaded, losing thirty killed and wounded. *Robertson*, 123-24.

¹⁰⁴ The soldiers remained aboard the ships until the fleet sailed, nearly two weeks later. Uhlendorf, 93; Ward, I, 329.

¹⁰⁵ Listed by André as the Ocean Tindal. Henry C. Lodge (ed.), *André's Journal* (2 vol.; Boston, 1903), I, 55 (hereafter *André*).

¹⁰⁶ Great heat, adverse winds, and severe storms bedeviled the fleet as it sailed south and at least twenty-seven soldiers died during the voyage. Uhlendorf, 97; *Serle*, 241-42; G. D. Scull, *The Montresor Journals*, New York Historical Society, *Collections* (1881), 431-32 (hereafter *Montresor*).

¹⁰⁷ Stirke and his company were among the first to land and they marched to within about four miles of present Elkton without meeting any opposition. Steady downpours over Aug. 26-27 prevented any further marching until Aug. 28. *André*, I, 69-70; Uhlendorf, 95; *Robertson*, 143.

parties of the Rebels appear'd on a hill ¹⁰⁸ about 2 miles above y^e Town, which gave us reason to expect a Vigorous Opposition, as it was a Very strong post. The light Infantry push'd up the hill, and were to be supported by y^e Grenadiers; but y^e Rebels retired without a shot being fired. In the Village we found a great Quantity of Tobacco, flour &c. which the Rebels had not time to take away, or destroy; they are computed to be worth 1500£ Ster^s. Gen^l Washington dined here yesterday.¹⁰⁹

- 31st This morning y^e 49th Reg^t, & part of the 23^d Reg^t as they were out Reconnoitering with L^d Cornwallis, and General Grant, fell in with a party of the Rebels, near a mill in Our front; and took a Colonel, and a few men Prisoners, and set fire to y^e mill—our loss was three, or four men kill'd and Wounded. In the Evening a Serj^t, Corp^l, and 6 of our Rifle men were taken by the Rebels, as they were driving in some Cattle.

Sept^r

- 3^d This morning about 5 O'Clock The L^t Infantry, Grenadiers, Hessian Chasseurs, Queens Rangers, some battalions of Brittish and Hessians, march'd under the Command of Sr W^m How, to take possession of they Iron Hills.¹¹⁰ About 8 O'Clock y^e Hessian Chasseurs, and 2^d Battalion of Light Infantry, attack'd a large party of the Rebels, strongly posted at a bridge,¹¹¹ at the foot of the Iron hills; which after a faint resistance, was carried with very little loss. The Rebels had about 50 kill'd, and Wounded.¹¹² The 1st Battalion of Light Infantry endeavouring to turn the left flank of y^e Rebels, and cu[t] off their Retreat, was prevented by an Impassable morass, which y^e Guide was not acquainted with.¹¹³ At this pass there was 500 Regulars, and 300 militia, under the Comm^d of Gen^l Maxwell.¹¹⁴

- 5th At 12 O'Clock y^e 1st Battalion of Light Infantry, was order'd

¹⁰⁸ Grey's, now Red Hill; about two and a half miles beyond Elkton, *Montresor*, 443; Uhlendorf, fn. 27, 100.

¹⁰⁹ André states that Washington dined on Aug. 27 in the house that Howe used as headquarters in Elkton. André, I, 72.

¹¹⁰ Iron Hill, about seven miles east of Head of Elk.

¹¹¹ Cooch's Bridge, across Christina Creek. This skirmish constituted the only engagement on Delaware soil during the Revolution. Uhlendorf, n. 29, 100-01; *Delaware: A Guide to the First State* (New York, 1938), p. 461.

¹¹² Other British accounts say that either twenty or thirty Americans were killed. *Montresor*, 446; Uhlendorf, 102.

¹¹³ This swamp, according to *Montresor*, prevented "this little spirited affair [from] becoming so decisive." *Montresor*, 446.

¹¹⁴ Brig. Gen. William Maxwell (c. 1733-Nov. 4, 1796). *DAB*.

under arms to attend L^d Cornwallis Sr W^m Erskine,¹¹⁵ Count Donop ¹¹⁶ &c. on a Reconnoitering party in our front; we went about two miles without seeing any of the Rebels; and was inform'd by one of their Light Dragoons that came into us, that there was not more than 2, or 300 of the Rebels at Christeen bridge.¹¹⁷

6th Gen^l Grant ¹¹⁸ with the Brigades left at Elk-Town, join'd the Army after destroying all the small Craft &c. left by the Rebels. The fleet are sail'd for the river Delaware.

8th At 1/2 after 5 O'Clock the Army march'd in three Divisions, from the left, towards Lancaster; and after marching about 10 miles, took post on some high grounds having turn'd the Right flank of y^e Rebel Army. This day we got 2 Stand of Colours, a number of Regimental Swords, and five or six Stand of Arms &c. at Colonel Pattersons House; he made his escape as the Light Infantry appear'd.

9th The Army march'd at 4 O'Clock in y^e evening towards Lancaster and y^e Light Infantry after a very disagreeable march, thro swamps, and rivers, in many places up to y^e middle; and after several halts, took post on a hill, at 2 O'Clock in the morning, about three miles from y^e ground we had left.¹¹⁹

10th March'd at 7 O'Clock, and arriv'd about 1 O'Clock, at Kennets Square.¹²⁰

11th The Division of the Army that mov'd off this morning to the left, under the Command of Sr W^m How, after a very fatigueing march of 17 miles; at 5 O'Clock in y^e evening, found the Rebels very strongly posted on the heights of Dilworth, to the amount of 8000 men, under y^e Command of Lord Sterling.¹²¹ The Attack was made by the Brittish

¹¹⁵ Sir William Erskine. Listed in Ford (p. 66) as a colonel at this time.

¹¹⁶ Col. the Count Carl Emil Curt von Donop.

¹¹⁷ Christiana Bridge, now Christiana, Delaware—above Iron Hill.

¹¹⁸ Gen. James Grant (1720-1806). *DNB*

¹¹⁹ The British camped near Hockesson Meeting House. J. Smith Futhey, "The Massacre of Paoli," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1 (1877), 290 (hereafter Futhey).

¹²⁰ Kennett Square, thirty-one miles southwest of Philadelphia. In Revolutionary days people frequently referred to the village as Kennet's Square. Freeman, IV, 472.

¹²¹ This column formed the British flanking movement to the left at Brandywine and after a long march came upon the American right wing at Birmingham Meeting House. Sullivan, not Stirling, commanded the American right. Futhey, 291; Ward, I, 349-50; Freeman, IV, 272.

Montresor comments that the British march was "both sultry and dusty" and that many soldiers dropped out because of the heat. *Montresor*, 449-50.

Light Infantry, and Grenadiers, Hessian Chasseurs and 4th Brigade, under a heavy fire both of Cannon and small arms; notwithstanding which, and the difficulty of the ground we had to march over, we push'd the Rebels from y^e heights, in about 15 minutes, with great loss; besides most of their Cannon which fell into our hands. The 2^d Division that mov'd off to the right, (at y^e same time we march'd in the morning) under the Comm^d of Gen^l Kniphausen; as soon as he heard we were engag'd began the Attack on the main body of the Rebel Army, under the Comm^d of Gen^l Washington and very advantageously posted above the ford¹²² at the Brandywine, from which y^e were push'd with Considerable loss; and had there been but one hour more of daylight, all their Waggons, and baggage would have fallen into our hands.¹²³ The loss of the Rebels we can't ascertain; but have reason to believe it to be, about 1000 men in kill'd, wounded and taken prisoners—¹²⁴ with 17 pieces of Cannon¹²⁵ &c. The 1st Battalion of Light Infantry took 5 of the number; and the General is pleased to make a present of 100 Doll^{rs} for each Gun taken.

13th March'd at 6 O'Clock, and encamp'd in y^e Evening about 3 miles from Chester. By four Deserters that join's us this morning, we are inform'd that Gen^l Washington has retir'd with the remains of his Army to Darby; and that one of their Generals (a Frenchman) was dead of they wounds he rec^d the 11th Instant.¹²⁶

15th March'd at 10 O'Clock at night.

16th This morning a party of Light Dragoons, with us, surpris'd at a house a Rebel Colonel and a Major of Brigade; 3 Light Dragoons was with them but made their escape out of a

¹²² Chad's Ford, about a seven and a half miles northwest of Kennett Square.

¹²³ Howe's report and other contemporary British accounts of the battle also claim that only the fatigue of the troops and the fall of night saved the Americans from a more resounding defeat. Samuel W. Pennypacker, "The High Water Mark of the British Invasion," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXI (1907), 394; *Montresor*, 450; *Robertson*, 146; *André*, I, 87; *Uhlendorf*, 110.

¹²⁴ Howe reported that 300 Americans were killed, 400 were made prisoner, and 600 were wounded, but no definite count of American losses was ever ascertained. Ward, I, 353-54. On the British side, an estimated 500 soldiers were killed and wounded. *Uhlendorf*, 112.

¹²⁵ Stirke probably erred in stating that seventeen canon were taken, as of three other contemporary accounts one stated fourteen pieces were captured and two claimed only eleven pieces were prizes. *Uhlendorf*, 112; *André*, I, 88; *Montresor*, 451.

¹²⁶ Probably a mistaken reference to Lafayette, who suffered a leg wound at Brandywine. Ward, I, 354.

- backdoor, leaving their Horses behind them.¹²⁷ About 3 O'Clock, the first Battⁿ of Light Infantry, attack'd a body of 500 rebels, under the Command of Gen^l Waine,¹²⁸ posted behind a fence, on a hill, about half a mile from Goshen meeting House on our advancing very briskly y^e gave us one fire and run away; leaving 10 men kill'd and Wounded on the field; and by Deserters that came in just after, we are inform'd the loss of the Rebels, is about 50 men kill'd, wounded, and missing. Ours, only one man wounded.¹²⁹
- 17th March'd at 3 O'Clock in y^e evening: about 4 miles; which brought us on y^e road to Philadelphia. Every day Deserters come in from y^e Rebel Army.
- 18th At 10 O'Clock the Army march'd in 2 Colomns towards Philadelphia; & at 4 O'Clock encamp'd on some hills about 20 miles from philadelphia, and two from y^e Scuykilln River.¹³⁰ This evening 3 Companys with our riddle men . . . [scratched out], under the Command of Major Craig,¹³¹ was detach'd to take possession of a large store, the Rebels have at Valley Forge, about two miles in our front.¹³²
- 19th The 1st Battalion of Light Infantry and 1st and 2nd of Grenadiers, march'd at 1 O'Clock to sustain Major Craig, as the Rebels appear'd in large bodys, and made a show of attacking that post.
- 20th This morning at 6 O'Clock, y^e 10th and 15th light Companys, with a party of mounted Chasseurs, and Light Dragoons, patrol'd to pickering Creek, about 3 miles, and brought in 5 Rebels.
- 21st About 12 O'Clock last night, Gen^l Grey,¹³³ with y^e 2^d Battalion of Light Infantry, 42^d & 44th Reg^{ts}, with some Light Dragoons surpris'd Gen^l Waines brigade in their Camp, (which lay in our rear, in order to insult us on our

¹²⁷ Montresor also mentions this incident and also fails to name the prisoners. *Montresor*, 453.

¹²⁸ Brig.-Gen. Anthony Wayne (Jan. 1, 1745-Dec. 15, 1796). *DAB*.

¹²⁹ This engagement was cut short by a slashing rain that only stopped the next morning. Futey, 297-98; Uhlendorf, 114.

¹³⁰ Schuykill River.

¹³¹ Probably Maj. Peter Craig, 57th Regiment. Ford, 53.

¹³² Outside of losing a horse, the British apparently suffered no other casualties in capturing Valley Forge and its precious supplies, including large quantities of flour, soap and candles, horseshoes, axes, and cannon balls. *Montresor*, 455; Uhlendorf, 115.

¹³³ Maj.-Gen. Charles Grey, first Earl Grey (1729-1807), one of the best British generals; he became commander-in-chief in America just at the Revolution's end. *DNB*

march) and without firing a Shot, put about 300 of the Rebels to Death, with y^e Bayonet; and took 200 prisoners; with all their baggage.¹³⁴ Our loss was * [* *Captⁿ Wolfe* ¹³⁵] 1 Captⁿ kill'd, with a Serg^t, and private; and 1 Lt Wounded. This evening Sr W^m Howe with y^e Army arriv'd at Valley Forge.

22^d At 6 O'Clock in y^e evening, a brigade of Guards, and one of Hessians, Cross'd the Scuykilmn River, without Opposition; y^e Guards at Swedes ford, and y^e Hessians 3 miles higher up. We hear that y^e Rebel Army mov'd off last night, towards Reading.

23^d Sr W^m Howe with y^e main body of the Army pass'd the Scuykilmn and encamp'd about 17 miles from Philadelphia.¹³⁶

25th Arriv'd at Germantown; Between that & Philadelphia, our light Dragoons, took prisoners a Captⁿ of y^e Rebel Light Dragoons, with four of his Troop and a Captⁿ of one of their Row Gallies.

26th The Brittish, and Hessian Grenadiers took Possession of Philadelphia.¹³⁷

Oct^r

4th This morning at 6 O'Clock, we were attack'd at several different Quarters by y^e Rebel Army under Gen^l Washington; the morning was so foggy that their Columns cou'd hardly be distinguished at Twenty paces distance, and did not clear up 'till between nine and Ten O'Clock.¹³⁸ The Attack was made with some degree of Spirit, and lasted about four hours, before the Rebels begun to retreat, when we pursued them above Eight miles: Their loss was pretty Considerable, as they left numbers dead on y^e field. The 1st battlⁿ of Light Infantry was entirely Surrounded, their Wigwams, & provision Waggon in possession of the Enemy, 'till they fought their way thro' and retook them. Lt

¹³⁴ This was the Paoli Massacre, in which a swift, unexpected, and vicious British bayonet attack routed Wayne's force and inflicted 150 American casualties. The British had about ten casualties. Futhey, 304-06; *Montresor*, 456.

¹³⁵ Probably Capt. Williams Wolfe, 40th Regiment. Ford, 185.

¹³⁶ The army began to cross Fatland Ford, about half a mile below Valley Forge, at midnight, after the moon had risen. *Robertson*, 149-50; Uhlendorf, fn. 51, 116.

¹³⁷ Cornwallis actually seized the undefended city. Ward, I, 361.

¹³⁸ The Battle of Germantown. Stirke and his cohorts in the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry were posted on the British right, on the Limekiln Road, near Lukens' Mill. Alfred C. Lambdin, "Battle of Germantown," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, I (1877), 372 (hereafter Lambdin).

Colonel Musgrove ¹³⁹ with some Companys of the 40th Reg^t, defended a large house ¹⁴⁰ in Germantown, against a great Superiority of numb^{rs}, with Cannon, which forc'd open the doors, which were defended with great Bravery, and Slaughter to the Rebels, 'till they were drove entirely out of the Town, by the arrival of more Troops. For which very Gallant behavior, the Commander in Chief was pleased to honour him with his particular thanks. Our loss is inconsiderable in Comparison with the Rebels; and I hope will convince them, that their success will be the same, whether they attack, or, are attacked. We had one * [* Agnew ¹⁴¹] Gen^l kill'd—and the loss of our battalⁿ was one * [* Morgan ¹⁴²] Lt kill'd, and one Wound'd. The 4th and 15th Reg^{ts} suffered most.¹⁴³

- 18th A Detachment from the Army at Germantown, in two Colomns under the Command of Generals Grant, and Grey, march'd by different roads to reconnoitre y^e Rebels, and met at Churchill beyond beggartown;¹⁴⁴ where they had a strong post, which was abandon'd on our Approach. The Light Infantry headed each Colomn, and return'd to their Encampments at Sun Seting, after a Circuit of about 17 miles, without a Shot being fired.
- 19th Abandon'd Germantown, and form'd our Lines about a half mile from Philadelphia, from the River Delaware, to the Scuykilmn River.
- 22^d Three battalions of Hessian Grenadiers, and the Hessian Chasseurs, under the Command of Colonel Donop; attack'd y^e Rebel Works at Red-Bank,¹⁴⁵ which y^e attempted carrying by Storm but after the most gallant effort having almost gain'd the Parapet of y^e body of the Work, they were beat back with some loss, leaving * [* since Dead] Colonel Donop wounded in the Ditch. The loss of the Hessians in this

¹³⁹ Lt.-Col. Thomas Musgrove (1737-1812). Musgrove's defense of the Chew House was commemorated by a silver medal that for a while served as a regimental order of merit. *DNB*

¹⁴⁰ The Chew House, or Cliveden, its formal name, which still stands.

¹⁴¹ Brig.-Gen. James Agnew, Col. of the 44th Foot. He was shot while leading British reinforcements through Germantown and died in the Wister House, now the Germantown Historical Society, Lambdin, 388; John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (2 vol.; Phila., 1860), II, 38.

¹⁴² Lt. Marcus Anthony Morgan, 17th Regiment of Foot. Ford, 131.

¹⁴³ Total British casualties amounted to 511 men and American losses to 1,077 soldiers. Lambdin, 393.

¹⁴⁴ Beggarstown, just above Germantown.

¹⁴⁵ Red Bank was on the Jersey side of the Delaware River, across from Philadelphia, and the works there were known as Fort Mercer. Freeman, IV, 526.

unlucky repulse, is about 150 men kill'd, and wounded, and if their Commanding Officer had not unfortunately been Wounded, as he gain'd the Parapet, 'tis thought the Works wou'd have been Carried.

23^d The 1st battalion of Light Infantry and 27th Reg^t cross'd the Delaware at 6 O'Clock in y^e morning to Cover the retreat of the Hessians, from Red-Bank, and assist in bringing off their Wounded. This day we had the additional misfortune, of losing the Augusta man of War of 64 Guns; which took fire by accident, as she had just got to her station before the Rebel Works; most of the Crew were sav'd.¹⁴⁶ Much about the sametime a Sloop of War,¹⁴⁷ got a shore & was Oblig'd to be set fire too, to prevent her falling in to y^e hands of y^e Rebels.

24th The Light Infantry, and 27th Reg^t return'd to their Encampments about 4 O'Clock in y^e morning. We had some scattering shots from the militia, which wounded a man of the 27th Reg^t.

31st This morning at 3 O'Clock, the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry, took post on y^e Germantown Road, about a mile in front of the Picquets, on a supposition that the Rebels intended attacking them; and Maj^r Gwin¹⁴⁸ with a party of Light Dragoons, went as far as the Rising Sun without seeing any of the Rebels.¹⁴⁹ At Sun Rising we return'd to our Encampment.

Nov^r

16th This morning we took possession of Mud Island,¹⁵⁰ after a very heavy Cannonade, by which y^e Rebels lost a great number of men, before the[y] abandon'd the Works. The shipping are now employ'd, in endeavouring to raise y^e Cheveux-de-frize that were sunk in y^e River.

17th At 12 O'Clock at night, the 1st battalion of Light Infantry & Grenadiers, Hessian Chasseurs 27th and 33^d Reg^{ts}, with Hessian Grenadiers, under the command of Lord Corn-

¹⁴⁶ Fort Mifflin, on Port Island and nearly opposite Fort Mercer, was also bombarded during the attack on Red Bank; the *Augusta* ran aground and blew up, with a loss of sixty-two men. Freeman, IV, 528; *Montresor*, 470.

¹⁴⁷ The *Merlin*, sixteen guns. Uhlendorf, fn. 71, 128.

¹⁴⁸ Probably Maj. Francis Edward Gwynne, 16th Dragoons. Ford, 86.

¹⁴⁹ The Rising Sun Tavern stood on the east side of the Germantown Road, at its junction with the old York Road. W. A. Newman, "The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LII (1928), n. 615, 380.

¹⁵⁰ Port Island, site of Fort Mifflin, was frequently identified as Mud Island, which lay just above it. Freeman, IV, fn. 34, 527.

wallis, march'd to Chester and cross'd y^e Delaware at Billings Fort,¹⁵¹ about 5 O'Clock in y^e evening, where we join'd the Troops from New-York, consisting of about 4000 men, under y^e command of S^t Tho^s Spencer Wilson. On our march to Chester, we surpris'd a party of y^e Rebels in a house, kill'd four, or five of them, and took about 20 prisoners we had the Serjt Major of y^e 33^d Reg^t kill'd by a shot from y^e house and 2 or 3 men Wounded.¹⁵²

20th The Army march'd to Sandtown here a bridge was destroy'd, which we were Oblig'd to repair. This night the Rebels were employ'd in destroying their works at Red-Bank, and burning their shiping, that cou'd not get up the river, by Philadelphia; their Row Gallies which drew little water, got up under the Jersey Shore.

21st We took possession of Red-bank after y^e Rebels had abandon'd the Works.

22^d The Light Infantry arriv'd at great Timber Creek,¹⁵³ where y^e Rebels had just broke down the bridge; the five eldest Companies pass'd over in two small boats, they found at y^e bridge, to Cover the Workmen employ'd in repairing it. In the Evening small party's of the Rebels appear'd and begun to be troublesome firing on us from a railing on the Other side of a small swamp, from which we soon drove them, but with the loss of 2 men of the 5th light Company kill'd, and a man of y^e 4th Company Wounded. The Troops are now employ'd, in demolishing the Works at Red-Bank.

25th The Army march'd to Gloucester¹⁵⁴ and begun to Cross over to Philadelphia. This evening the Hessian Chasseurs, posted on y^e right flank of the army, were attack'd by a much superior number of the Rebels, which they repuls'd with the loss of 30 men kill'd and Wounded. The loss of the Rebels is not known.

27th The battle &c. being got over, The Army return'd to Philadelphia. When y^e Light Infantry begun to embark in they Flat Boats, a large body of y^e Rebels threw themselves into a Wood, near y^e beech, and were very troublesome notwithstanding we were cover'd by y^e shiping, which kept up a heavy fire. We had one Officer and several men slightly wounded.

¹⁵¹ Billingsport, about twelve miles below present Camden.

¹⁵² Montresor says that all within the house were bayoneted. *Montresor*, 477.

¹⁵³ Timber Creek is just north of Red Bank.

¹⁵⁴ Gloucester, about four miles south of Camden.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES ON THE MANUMISSION OF SLAVES IN CAROLINE, DORCHESTER, AND TALBOT COUNTIES

By KENNETH L. CARROLL

I

ONE of the most interesting chapters in the economic, social, and religious history of Maryland is the rapid increase in the number of free Negroes in Maryland in the century preceding the disappearance of slavery in 1864. This article attempts to analyze the way this movement expressed itself in the central part of the Eastern Shore and to show the religious influences at work in this development. While certain economic and political factors affected the process, it received its start and gained its main strength from religion. This study is limited to that area of Maryland in which were located the three denominations most responsible for the manumission of slaves in Maryland—Quakers, Nicholites, and Methodists. Other religious groups did not take official action on the matter of slaveholding as these three did.

This central part of the Eastern Shore had been settled as early as the late 1650's. By 1755 it had quite a large population, made up almost completely of whites and of Negro slaves. The small group of free Negroes living here at this time numbered only about 3.3 per cent of the *Negro* population.¹ By 1860 the percentage of free Negroes had risen to approximately 55 per cent of the total colored population. In 1860, 79 per cent of the Negroes in Caroline County were free, 53 per cent of those in Dorchester, and 44 per cent of the Negroes in Talbot County. A chart showing the numbers of slaves and of free Negroes in

¹ See James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860* (New York, 1921), pp. 84-85 for the Dorchester and Talbot statistics. Caroline County, taken from Dorchester and Queen Anne's, was not set up until 1774.

these three counties ² is included here, so that the influence of the various religious groups might be seen more clearly.

	<i>Caroline</i>		<i>Dorchester</i>		<i>Talbot</i>	
	slave	free colored	slave	free colored	slave	free colored
1755			2,610	77	2,799	111
1790	1,057	421	5,337	528	4,777	1,076
1800	1,865	602	4,566	2,365	4,775	1,591
1810	1,520	1,001	5,032	2,661	4,878	2,103
1820	1,574	1,390	5,168	2,496	4,768	2,234
1830	1,177	1,652	5,001	3,000	4,173	2,483
1840	752	1,720	4,227	3,987	3,687	2,350
1850	808	2,788	4,282	3,848	4,134	2,593
1860	739	2,786	4,123	4,684	3,725	2,964

The small group of free colored people living in this tri-county area in 1755 had two origins. There were, in all probability, some free Negroes from the earliest days of these counties.³ This small group had been augmented from time to time by slaves set free by individuals whose own consciences, rather than their denominations, led them to manumit their slaves. Several early examples of this can be found. In 1703 John Jadwyn (Jadwin), a Talbot County Quaker, freed his Negro slave Philip—having promised the slave his freedom after a certain period of service.⁴ Even earlier, in 1684, William Dixon sought the advice of his own Quaker meeting concerning his wish to sell a Negro his freedom.⁵ By his will in 1708 this same William Dixon freed two slaves and provided for their support by furnishing them 50 acres of land, a house, and the beginnings of a flock. He wrote that "It has often been with me if the Lord would let you live with me to y^e end of my days to set you free w^{ch} I have accordingly done."⁶

² Caroline, carved out of Dorchester and Queen Anne's Counties, was not set up until 1774. These statistics are taken from the various published abstracts of the United States censuses from 1790 to 1860. A complete set can be found in the State Library, Annapolis.

³ Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 176.

⁴ Talbot County Land Records, Liber 9, Folio 358.

⁵ Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, I, 66. These records, hereafter referred to as Third Haven Minutes, are now on deposit in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁶ Talbot County Wills, Liber 1, Folio 251.

A number of early American Quakers attacked the practice of slavery. Among the first to speak out was the Philadelphia merchant Ralph Sandiford, who, in 1729, published a short treatise called *A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times*. In this work he presented "many arguments against slavery and the slave-trade, showing that they are subversive to the natural rights of man and utterly repugnant to the spirit of Christianity."⁷ Benjamin Lay and Anthony Benezet were two other early Quaker advocates of emancipation.⁸ The Quaker who influenced Maryland Friends most on this matter was John Woolman who, sometime after a 1746 religious journey to Maryland and Virginia, wrote his *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*. The first part of this work appeared in 1754, and second part was added in 1762. Although it was not the earliest treatise ever published on this subject, it was certainly one of the most effective that has ever appeared.

Under the prodding of such leaders as these and of their own quickened consciences, Maryland Quakers in 1760 declared at their General Meeting at Third Haven (Easton) that "Friends should not in any wise encourage the importation of negroes, by buying or selling them, or other slaves."⁹ In 1762 the General Meeting, held this time at West River (near Annapolis), concluded that it was their "solid judgment that no member of our society shall be concerned in *importing* or *buying* of negroes, nor selling any without the consent and approbation of the Monthly Meeting they belong to."¹⁰ The step from a "concern" with slave buying to a "concern" with slave keeping was only a short one for a truly sensitive conscience.

Maryland Quakers had already developed a state of "uneasiness" concerning slave-holding when John Woolman, accompanied by John Sleeper, made his famous "walking journey" through Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1766. This "foot-journey" was a part of Woolman's attack upon the institution of slavery. He saw slavery as a cancerous

⁷ Samuel M. Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, From Its Rise to the Year 1828*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1867), III, 240-242.

⁸ See Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven, 1950), pp. 34-47, for his chapter "Voices Crying in the Wilderness."

⁹ J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (or Quakers) in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1862), p. 23.

¹⁰ See also Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (1950), 220.

disease, eating away at the moral and spiritual life of the Society of Friends and of America. Slavery was an evil that must be destroyed. As he moved slowly down through Delaware and across Caroline and Talbot Counties, Woolman became "an embodied conscience," seeking to awaken people to the great evil of slavery which sprang from luxury and selfish profit (which alone made luxury possible).

After visiting Caroline County John Woolman entered Talbot County at the beginning of the summer of 1766 and soon moved on after a short stay taken up in attendance at meetings, talking with individual Friends, and some visitation of families. This man, who has been called, "perhaps the most Christlike individual that Quakerism has ever produced,"¹¹ planted his seed well. Before long the harvest was ready to be gathered.

Joseph Berry freed one slave on February 7, 1767, and another one on March 26, 1767.¹² Several months after these manumissions were recorded on the public records, Joseph Berry then produced to Third Haven Monthly Meeting "Certificates of Manumission for Negroes Abram and Hannah who he has sett free and discharged from service, also a Bond Obligatory on himself and Heirs to set Negro Philip at present a Minor at Liberty when he arrives at the age of Twenty one Years."¹³ The Monthly Meeting, evidently sensing that these three were just the beginning with many more to follow, appointed Daniel Smith to "procure a proper Book for that purpose and to record these and any other of that kind that the Meeting may hereafter direct."¹⁴ This book was first kept by Smith, then by William Edmondson, and after 1779 by Richard Bartlett.¹⁵

A year went by before the next manumissions appear on the public records in Talbot County. James Berry freed one slave and Sarah Powell freed four on February 8, 1768. In the same year Benjamin Berry liberated nine, and two each were manumitted by William Troth, Elizabeth Neal, and Sarah Register.¹⁶ Quakers in the Caroline-Dorchester area soon began to follow

¹¹ Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹² Talbot County Land Records, Liber 19, Folios 414-15.

¹³ Third Haven Minutes, II, 426.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 426.

¹⁵ The location of this book today is unknown.

¹⁶ Talbot County Land Records, Liber 19, Folios 474, 475, 496, 498, 499, and 543.

the example of their Talbot brethren. William Edmondson manumitted a slave on June 10, 1768, and James Edmondson released a Negro from slavery on January 4, 1769.¹⁷

In 1768 Maryland Quakers continued their movement toward an abolition position. The Yearly Meeting was of unanimous mind in advising that

. . . such as buy or sell them [*i. e.*, slaves] for term of Life or otherwise, contrary to the former direction of this Meeting, . . . if no prospect appears of their making satisfaction for the same by granting them their liberty, . . . that in such cases the said Meetings are hereby directed to proceed to Disown such persons as disorderly Walkers, until they so far come to a Sight and Sence of their Misconduct as to Condemn the same to the Satisfaction of the said Meetings.¹⁸

In this same year, 1768, Maryland Friends pointed out "the inconsistency of appointing such Friends to the station of elders as are in possession of slaves."¹⁹ This did not, however, become the policy of Maryland Friends until 1770 when they decided

. . . with a time of much calmness and brotherly tenderness towards each other, [that] it appears to be the solid sense and judgment of this Meeting, that in the future Friends should be careful to avoid appointing such for that service [the station of Elders] who do not appear to have a testimony in their heart against the practice of slave keeping.²⁰

Talbot County Quakers took seriously the directives of the Yearly Meeting on the buying and selling of slaves. Daniel Bartlett was disowned on the 30th of the 7th Month, 1767, for having bought a Negro slave.²¹ On the 30th of the 7th Month, 1768, George Willson was reported, by the representatives of the Tuckaho Preparative Meeting to Third Haven Monthly Meeting, for having bought a slave. After much patient "labor-

¹⁷ Dorchester County Land Records, Liber Old 22, Folio 359 and Liber Old 23, Folio 173.

¹⁸ Third Haven Minutes, II, 458.

¹⁹ Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²¹ Third Haven Minutes, II, 424-25.

ing" with him on the part of the representatives of the Meeting, he was disowned on the 30th of the 3rd Month, 1769.²²

Talbot Friends steadily continued to manumit their slaves. Three were freed by Isaac Dixon and two by William Warren in 1769. In 1770 James Berry freed eight, Benjamin Parvin five, and Thomas Cockayne one.²³ Manumissions were few in the next several years: five in 1771, one in 1772, nine in 1773, and six in 1774.²⁴ In 1773 the Yearly Meeting took a great step forward—one which was largely responsible for the emancipation of all Quaker-owned slaves. It requested each Monthly Meeting to set up a local committee to treat with slave holders.²⁵ In response to this directive, Third Haven Monthly Meeting (containing all Quaker meetings in this tri-county area) appointed a standing committee of Benjamin Parvin, Howell Powell, William Edmondson, and Joseph Berry to "have the care and oversight of the negroes amongst us, whether in a state of Slavery or Freedom, and to treat with those who do not do justice to them, as Truth may abilitate them."²⁶ These four men had all liberated their slaves earlier. Having been so convinced of the importance of freeing slaves that they had freed their own, these Friends were now prepared to help others see the necessity of following their example. In 1777 James Edmondson and John Bartlett were added to the "Committee for care and oversight of negroes" to visit "such of our Brethren as continue in the practice of Slave-keeping."²⁷

With the added impetus stemming from the naming of this special committee in 1774 the number of manumissions increased rather rapidly in the next several years. In 1775, 1776, and 1777 Aaron Atkinson, who had earlier freed his own slaves, now manumitted thirteen more which he inherited from his two sisters; John Dixon freed eleven; and ten other Quakers emancipated another thirty-nine Negroes.²⁸

²² *Ibid.*, II, 458. The following preparatory meetings were under Third Haven Monthly Meeting at this time: Third Haven, Bayside, Choptank, and Tuckahoe in Talbot County and Queen Anne's and Marshy Creek in Caroline.

²³ Talbot County Land Records, Liber 20, Folios 41, 47, 82, 90, 111.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Liber 20, Folios 142, 149, 183, 274, 288, 289, 293, 360. Caroline County Land Records, Liber A, Folio 6.

²⁵ Third Haven Minutes, III, 28.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 41.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 84.

²⁸ Talbot County Land Records, Liber 20, Folios 434, 487, 523, 536, 539, 551, 559, 561, 565, 566, 571, 572; Liber 21, Folios 1, 13.

In 1777 the Maryland Yearly Meeting of Friends, gathering at Third Haven, decided on a "conditional disownment" for all remaining slaveholders:

By the Reports from our several Quarters we have Information, that our Testimony against Slave-keeping gains ground, which affords encouragement for the continuance of the united Labours of well-concerned Friends. This Meeting having been weightily under the Consideration of this important Branch of our Christian Testimony, and a concern prevailing for the furtherance and promotion thereof, have concluded, that, should any of the Members of our religious Society, remain so regardless of the Advices of this Meeting from time to time communicated, as to continue to hold Mankind in a state of Slavery; the Subscription of such, for the use of the Society, ought not in the future be received . . . and if any should continue so far to justify their conduct, as to refuse or reject the tender Advice of their Brethren herein; It is our solid Sense and Judgment of this Meeting, that the continuing in the Practice is become so burthensome, that such persons must be disunited from our religious Society.²⁹

Exactly one year later, in June of 1778, the Yearly Meeting called for the expulsion of slave-holders and also prohibited Friends from hiring slaves or from acting as overseers on the plantations of others who owned slaves.³⁰

The Quarterly Meeting, representing all Eastern Shore meetings, recommended that the subordinate Monthly Meetings "do continue their Care in visiting the few who now remain possessed of slaves."³¹ As a result of the new ruling of the Yearly Meeting and the continuing visits of this committee with the few remaining Quaker slave owners manumissions continued to come in. Sixteen more Friends in Caroline and Talbot freed another fifty-five Negroes in 1778, 1779, 1780, and 1781.³²

A few Quakers were disowned in this tri-county area for holding slaves. Usually some other charge was combined with slave-

²⁹ Third Haven Minutes, III, 84. See Drake, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-84, for his chapter "The Quakers Free Their Slaves."

³⁰ Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³¹ Third Haven Minutes, III, 87.

³² Caroline County Land Records, Liber A., Folios 351, 365, 454, 455, 528; Talbot County Land Records, Liber 21, Folios 32, 50, 82, 102, 130, 140, 149, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 188.

holding; thus, in 1786, Howell Powell, Jr., son of an esteemed elder of the Meeting, was disowned for holding slaves and indulging a "Libertine Spirit." Four years later, in 1790, he freed the ten slaves that he owned.⁸³ Where there appeared any possibility of bringing the erring member into line, the representatives of the meeting labored long and patiently. Then, too, there were other complicating factors: slave holders who married into the Society, legacies of slaves to Friends, and the estates of minors. Time was needed for the complete disappearance of slave holding among Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Friends. From 1782 through 1791 there appear approximately thirty more deeds of manumissions in the public records of Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot whereby Quakers in these two areas freed about one hundred and fifty slaves.⁸⁴ By 1792 Third Haven Monthly Meeting, which contained the four meetings in Talbot and the two in Caroline, stated in its report to the Quarterly Meeting, that the Meeting was "clear of slavery except in the estates of some minors."⁸⁵

By 1790 well over three hundred Quaker-owned slaves have been liberated by deeds of manumission recorded in the land records of Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties. Untold numbers were also set free by wills. Most of these manumissions, by will or by deed, took place in Talbot where the Quakers were much more numerous and wealthier than those in Caroline County. The Quaker influence on the manumission of slaves was pretty well over by 1790 when the Society was free of slave owners. Only those inheriting slaves or non-Friends who wished to be received as members would be directly touched from this point on.

II

The second religious group to make its convictions felt in the manumission of slaves in this tri-county area was the Nicho-

⁸³ Third Haven Minutes, III, 223. Talbot County Land Records, Liber 24, Folios 198-199.

⁸⁴ Talbot County Land Records, Libri 21-24, *passim*; Caroline County Land Records, Libri A, B, C, *passim*; Dorchester County Land Records, Liber Old 28, Folios 330, 408; Liber NH5, Folios 317, 357.

⁸⁵ Third Haven Minutes, III, 301. Concerning Quakerism in these three counties, see Kenneth L. Carroll, "Talbot County Quakerism in the Colonial Period," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIII (1958), 326-370; "Quakerism in Caroline County, Maryland: Its Rise and Decline," *The Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association*, XLVIII (1959), 83-102.

lite Society. The Nicholites appeared in the early 1760's as a result of the preaching of Joseph Nichols who lived just over the Maryland line in Delaware. Nichols, in the ten or twelve years before his death in 1773 or 1774, fashioned a religious movement which was very much like the Society of Friends.⁸⁶ The greatest number of his followers lived in what is now Caroline County, with smaller numbers in Dorchester County and across the Delaware border in Sussex County. About the time of the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War a number of the Nicholites moved southward into North Carolina.

John Woolman travelled through the area where the Nicholites were concentrated, when he made his 1766 "walking journey" through Delaware and Maryland. His *Journal* reports their presence at a number of his meetings.⁸⁷ The Nicholites, still in the formative years of their development as a religious movement, were greatly influenced by John Woolman.⁸⁸ This seems especially true where the question of slavery was concerned.

Just when Joseph Nichols began preaching against slavery is uncertain. Lambert Hopkins, who in 1817 recorded what he then remembered about Joseph Nichols whom he first met in 1764 or 1765 and whom he followed for about eight years, claimed that Nichols adopted his anti-slavery position shortly before the arrival of Woolman in 1766. He said that Nichols

... was the first man in these parts who preached against the evil of slave-holding; so far did his conscientious scruples extend that he avoided putting up at places where the labour was done by slaves. His testimony in this respect met with some opposition and even members of the Society of Friends opposed him; but it happened a short time afterwards, two Friends [Woolman and John Sleeper] came down on foot and publicly preached against the evil of slavery.

⁸⁶ Concerning the Nicholites see Kenneth L. Carroll, "Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (1950), 47-61; "More About the Nicholites," *ibid.*, XLVI (1951), 278-289; and "The Nicholites Become Quakers: An Example of Unity in Diversity," *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association*, XLVII (1958), 3-19.

⁸⁷ Amelia Mott Gummere (ed.), *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 271-272.

⁸⁸ See Kenneth L. Carroll, "The Influence of John Woolman on Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites" in Anna Brinton (ed.), *Then and Now: Quaker Essays* (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 168-179.

Friends then received that testimony which they had refused from Joseph, and in a few years it became general among them to free their negroes.³⁹

Hopkins may possibly be correct when he states that Joseph Nichols preached against slavery before the arrival of Woolman and Sleeper in 1766. It seems to me, however, that this claim reflects a later rivalry on this subject between Nicholites and Friends. The basis for such a claim, it would appear, lies in the fact that the Nicholites, almost as a group, manumitted their slaves early in 1768, several months *before* the Quakers in nearby Marshy Creek Meeting did.⁴⁰ It should be noted, however, that Joseph Berry, James Berry, and Sarah Powell in neighboring Talbot County had already freed their slaves before any of the Nicholites took such action.⁴¹ In all likelihood Woolman's 1766 journey led both Nichols and the Nicholites to adopt their anti-slavery position.

Joseph Nichols was so opposed to living at the expense of slave labor that he refused to stay in the houses of the slave owners. In his public preaching Nichols declared that "it was made known to him of the Lord, that in the process of time the slaves would be a freed people."⁴² Two of Nichols' followers, William Dawson and William Harris, were so convinced of the evil of slavery that they determined to set their slaves free. They were discouraged by the public authorities, who advised them to try the slaves with "freedom" only for a time; then, after Dawson and Harris had seen their "folly," they might take the slaves back into their service. The two Nicholites remained firm in their intention, ultimately freeing their seven slaves on March 1, 1768.⁴³ These are the first manumissions listed in the public records of Dorchester County (which, at this time still contained the lower half of what was, in 1774, to become Caroline County). Their example was soon followed

³⁹ John Comly and Isaac Comly (eds.), *Friends' Miscellany* 10 vols. (Philadelphia, 1833), IV, 258.

⁴⁰ William Edmondson freed one slave on June 10, 1768, and James Edmondson freed his on January 4, 1769. See Dorchester County Land Records, Liber Old 22, Folio 359 and Liber Old 23, Folio 173.

⁴¹ William Troth, Benjamin Berry, and Elizabeth Neal were freeing their slaves at almost the same time as the Nicholites did. See footnotes 12 and 16.

⁴² *Friends' Miscellany*, IV, 258.

⁴³ Dorchester County Land Records, Liber Old 22, Folios 254-55.

by Daniel Adams and Richard Tull.⁴⁴ All of these Nicholite manumissions stressed the fact that the freedom had been granted "to satisfy my conscience."

Eventually the Nicholite testimony against holding slaves was incorporated into their discipline: "Any Person Holding a Slave is not to be Admitted to be a member."⁴⁵ In the Queries which the Nicholites drew up for use within their meetings, the ninth one dealt with slavery:

Are Friends careful to bear a faithful testimony against Slavery in its various branches, and provide in a suitable manner for those in their families that have had their freedom secured to them; are they instructed in useful learning, and is the welfare of such as have been set free attended to and the necessities of them relieved.⁴⁶

The Nicholites were consistent in their testimony against slavery and refused to hire slaves from slave-owners. Individual Nicholites carried their zeal even further. James Horney refused to eat with slaveholders or to use any goods either raised or procured through slave labor.

The Nicholite Society freed itself of slave owners quite early. Those who applied for membership after the Nicholites were formally organized in 1774 had to be without slaves. The few who inherited slaves after becoming Nicholites manumitted them as soon as possible. In 1789 Preston and Tabitha Godwin freed a slave which they had received by the will of Tabitha's father, Ebenezer Vault. James Harris, the main leader of the Nicholites following Nichols' death, likewise received a Negro slave by this same will and was quick to draw up a deed of manumission for this slave.⁴⁷ In 1799 James Harris witnessed a manumission deed drawn up by William Wood and then brought it in to be recorded.⁴⁸

The Nicholites, who possessed three meetings in Caroline County, were never a very large group. They likewise contained few well-to-do members. Their influence upon the manumission of slaves in this tri-county area was, therefore, much smaller than that of the neighboring Quakers.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Liber Old 22, Folios 308, 336, 356.

⁴⁵ Kenneth L. Carroll, "More About the Nicholites," *Md. Hist. Mag.*; XLVI (1951), 283.

⁴⁶ "Queries of the Nicholite Friends," *Friends Intelligencer*, XVII (1860), 72.

⁴⁷ Caroline County Land Records, Liber B, Folios 471, 474.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber F, Folio 370. One wonders if a little pressure had been brought on Wood to free his slave.

III

Methodism reached Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties long after the Quakers and the Nicholites. It soon, however, passed them in size—having a much greater appeal to the residents of this area at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The Methodist movement was responsible for bringing freedom to hundreds of slaves in these three counties.

All of the early Methodist leaders, with the exception of George Whitefield (with whom Wesley later broke), were opposed to slavery.⁴⁹ John Wesley produced his "Thoughts on Slavery" pamphlet in 1774 in order to strike "at the root of this complicated villiany." He wrote

I absolutely deny all slave-holding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice, mercy, and truth. No circumstances can make it necessary for a man to burst in sunder all the ties of humanity. It can never be necessary for a rational being to sink himself below a brute. A man can be under no necessity of degrading himself into a wolf.

You first acted the villain in making them slaves, whether you stole them or bought them. And this equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in our American plantations; yea, all slaveholders of whatever rank or degree—seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers.

Have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting Revelation aside. Liberty is the right of every human creature as soon as he breathes the vital air, and no human being can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature.⁵⁰

Only a few days before his death, John Wesley wrote to Wilberforce, "Go on till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish before it."⁵¹

⁴⁹ L. C. Matlack, *The Antislavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1881), pp. 30-31, reports Whitefield as saying "As to the lawfulness of keeping slaves I have no doubt. . . . I should think myself highly favored if I could purchase a good number of them in order to make their lives comfortable; and lay a foundation for breeding up their posterity in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Whitefield bought slaves for the use of his Georgia orphanage.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

⁵¹ John Nelson Norwood, *The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844: A Study of Slavery and Ecclesiastical Politics* (Alfred, N. Y., 1923), p. 9.

Bishop Francis Asbury, who was in charge of the Methodist movement in this area for many years and who visited Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties each about twenty times between 1778 and 1813, was very opposed to slavery. As early as 1772 Asbury noted in his *Journal* that he had conversations about not keeping Negroes "for conscience's sake."⁵² In 1778 Asbury wrote, "I find the more pious part of the people called Quakers, are exerting themselves for the liberation of the slaves. This is a very laudable design; and what the Methodists must come to, or, I fear, the Lord will depart from them."⁵³

Freeborn Garrettson, who was active in Caroline County in 1775, Talbot County in 1778 and 1783, and in Dorchester County in 1780, 1783, and 1787, was a Maryland slave owner who, at the time of his conversion in 1775, freed his slaves:

Although it was the Lord's day, I did not intend to go to any place of worship; neither did I desire to see any person, but wished to pass my time away in total solitude. I continued reading the Bible till eight, and then, under a sense of duty, called the family together for prayer. As I stood with a book in my hand, in the act of giving out a hymn, this thought powerfully struck my mind, "It is not right for you to keep your fellow-creatures in bondage; you must let the oppressed go free." I knew it to be the same blessed voice which had spoken to me before—till then I had never suspected that the practice of slave-keeping was wrong; I had not read a book on the subject, nor had been told so by any—I paused a minute, and then replied, "Lord, the oppressed shall go free." And I was as clear of them in my mind as if I had never owned one. I told them that they did not belong to me and that I did not desire their services without making them a compensation: I was now at liberty to proceed in worship. After singing, I kneeled to pray.⁵⁴

Garrettson said, "It was God, not man, that taught me the impropriety of holding slaves; and I shall never be able to praise him enough for it. My very heart has bled, since that, for slave-holders, especially those who make a profession of

⁵² *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*. Edited by Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts, and Jacob S. Payton 3 vol. (Nashville, 1958), I, 25.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, I, 273-274.

⁵⁴ Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson: Compiled from His Printed and Manuscript Journals, and Other Authentic Documents* (New York, 1838), p. 39.

religion.”⁵⁵ This is the attitude which he took with him on his preaching journeys in these three Eastern Shore Counties.

Methodism came to Caroline County earlier than to Dorchester or Talbot. It was probably early in 1775 that a Mr. Ruff, in charge of the Kent Circuit (made up of Kent County, Maryland, and Kent County, Delaware) preached in the neighborhood of Choptank Bridge (now Greensboro). Freeborn Garrettson preached in Tuckahoe Neck a little later. Caroline was set up as a separate circuit in 1778.⁵⁶ Methodism in Talbot County seems to date from 1777 when the Rev. William Walters preached in the barn of Thomas Harrison, between St. Michaels and Wittman. After this two-day meeting seven people were converted and organized into a class. Freeborn Garrettson, in Talbot several times, came first in 1778. Joseph Hartley, who was jailed in Easton for preaching without a license, was here in 1779. Talbot Circuit was set up in 1781.⁵⁷

Freeborn Garrettson was the first Methodist to preach in Dorchester, when he spoke in the home of Henry Airey in 1780. He was then imprisoned in the Cambridge jail for two weeks. Also active here in 1780 were Thomas Chew, Joshua Dudley, and Caleb Peticord, as well as Joseph Everett who arrived on October 1, 1780.⁵⁸ Everett (1732-1809) was born in Queen Anne's County, Maryland, and fought in the Revolutionary War. He was “bitter against the institution of slavery. He would not eat with a slave holder unless he promised to free his slaves.” Yet he was “preeminently successful.”⁵⁹

Methodism swept wildly through the Eastern Shore—drawing many non-church people into it as well as nearly emptying the Anglican (later, Protestant Episcopal) Church after its disestablishment. At the end of 1786 Asbury recorded that “Brother James White says that five hundred souls have joined [the] society in this circuit [Talbot] *this year*.”⁶⁰ Estimates

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵⁶ E. C. Hallman, *The Garden of Methodism* (no place, no date), p. 282. Bangs, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

⁵⁷ Hallman, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-37; Bangs, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Asbury, *Journal*, I, 313, 316.

⁵⁸ Hallman, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Bangs, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-107.

⁵⁹ Hallman, *op. cit.*, p. 374. Everett served in both Caroline and Dorchester Counties.

⁶⁰ Asbury, *Journal*, I, 526.

which one runs across for the next twenty years are even more surprising.

In spite of the strong feelings of Methodist leaders such as John Wesley, Francis Asbury, Dr. Coke, and Freeborn Garrettson, no action on slavery was taken before the Baltimore Conference of April, 1780. This Conference expressed an anti-slavery position:

Does this Conference acknowledge that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society; contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing that which we would not others should do to us and ours? Do we pass our disapprobation on all our friends who keep slaves, and advise their freedom? ⁶¹

This 1780 Conference passed Methodism's first written rule on the subject of slaveholding. Travelling preachers who held slaves must set them free.⁶² No rule dealt with individual members at this time. In 1783 local preachers were warned that if they refused to free their slaves they might be suspended. A conference in the spring of 1784 ruled that local preachers who would not free their slaves when they could legally do so were to be suspended. It also reached out to include private members, saying that "if Methodists bought slaves to hold and use, they might be expelled after due warning, and under no circumstances could they be permitted to sell slaves."⁶³

In 1784 American Methodism began its independent existence when it was organized at the famous Christmas Conference in Baltimore. When it drew up a "Discipline" or rule book, a new rule for church membership was set. Every Methodist slaveholder must sign a legal instrument in which he agreed to liberate his slaves at a time which was dependent upon their ages when the instrument was drawn up. People applying for membership must accept this rule before being received into the church. Methodists were given a year to obey this new rule or to withdraw from the church. This rule quite possibly may have been thrust upon the Conference by Wesley, Coke, As-

⁶¹ Norwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 11. See also Dwight W. Culver, *Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church* (New Haven, 1953), p. 45.

⁶³ Norwood, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

bury, and others.⁶⁴ It proved so unpopular and created so much hostility, that it was suspended six months later. For the next ten years practically nothing was done on the matter.

Manumission of slaves by Methodists started several years after the movement first appeared in these three Eastern Shore Counties. James Benson, in Talbot County, freed three slaves on March 6, 1781, and Catharine and Margaret Jenkins each freed one about the end of the year.⁶⁵ Eight Talbot Countians who were probably Methodists freed twenty-two slaves in 1782.⁶⁶ In Caroline County there are several manumissions for 1781 which are probably those of Methodists: Daniel Martindale, Abraham Collins, John Covey, and Matthew Covey. Eight more such documents are recorded in 1782, granting freedom to forty Negroes.⁶⁷ In Dorchester County the earliest Methodist manumission is that in which Thomas Haskins freed one slave on December 2, 1782.⁶⁸ There are no others in Dorchester until 1784. An examination of the land records of these three counties shows one hundred and fourteen slaves in Caroline manumitted between 1783 and 1790, two hundred and seventy-nine in Dorchester, and four hundred and forty-one in Talbot. For the period from 1791 through 1799 Caroline slaves manumitted number two hundred and ninety, in Dorchester four hundred and three, and in Talbot three hundred and six. These figures are for slaves freed by owners who were not Quakers, Nicholites, or Negroes who bought and freed their own wives and children.⁶⁹ These, in all probability, were almost all Methodists.⁷⁰

Most of these manumission records contain some expression of the religious basis for this action. Thomas Haskins in 1782 said "perpetual bondage and slavery is repugnant to the pure precepts of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Thomas and Mary Bowdle, whose manumissions were witnessed by Freeborn Gar-

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16; Matlack, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; Culver, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

⁶⁵ Talbot County Land Records, Liber 21, Folios 163, 191. James and Jesse Mullikin, possibly Methodists, freed eleven slaves in 1780.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Liber 21, Folios 214, 215, 216, 220, 248, 292, 298.

⁶⁷ Caroline County Land Records, Liber A, Folios 577, 578, 579, 612, 622, 625.

⁶⁸ Dorchester County Land Records, Liber NH2, Folio 120.

⁶⁹ There are a number of cases of Negroes buying their wives and children and then manumitting them.

⁷⁰ Dorchester Methodists whose names appear frequently as witnesses on these documents are Thomas Hill Airey, Samuel Brown, Moses LeCompte, Nancy LeCompte, Richard Pattison, George Ward, Mary Ward, and Edward White. Freeborn Garrettson's name appears on half a dozen of these.

rettson, believed it was "inconsistent with the principles of Christianity to retain them in bondage." Joseph, Leah, Thomas, and William Withgott felt that "slavery is contrary to the Golden Law of God on which hang all the law and prophets and to the Glorious Revolution that has lately taken place in America." Thomas Hill Airey freed thirty slaves in 1790 because of his belief that "freedom and liberty is the unalienable right and privilege of every person, . . . [the] practice of slavery is repugnant to the pure precepts of the gospel of Jesus Christ, . . . and . . . that if I continued to hold them in bondage I should never be received into that rest that remains for the people of God." Mary Layton was convinced "that all mankind are and ought to be free" and that "no person can be a true and faithful follower of our blessed Saviour who retains and keeps any of the human race a slave."⁷¹

There was a revival of the anti-slavery spirit at the Methodist General Conference of 1796 which produced some important rules on slaveholding after nearly a dozen years of silence following the scuttling of the 1784 position. The Methodist Church declared that it was convinced, more than ever, of the great evil of slavery. It ruled that all those who came to have official positions in the church must emancipate their slaves. Any slaveholder who sought membership must be spoken to by the minister about slavery. Members of the church were permitted to buy slaves only on the condition that the slaves and their offspring would be freed after a limited period of service. Slave sellers must be excommunicated. Travelling preachers, where state law permitted, must free their slaves.⁷²

A number of extracts from the "Journal of the Quarterly Meeting Conference of Dorchester Circuit, Md.," have been preserved in a century old book, *The Impending Crisis of 1860*.⁷³ The manuscript from which they were taken was missing its opening pages which probably covered the period from 1796 to 1804; the minutes from 1804 to 1829 were still present when the extracts were taken in 1859. They show how the rules of

⁷¹ Dorchester County Land Records, Liber NH2, Folios 120, 281, 282; Liber NH5, Folios 354-57; Liber HD2, Folio 558; Liber HD3, Folio 180.

⁷² Norwood, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Culver, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁷³ H. Mattison, *The Impending Crisis of 1860: Or the Present Connection of the Methodist Episcopal Church with Slavery, and Our Duty in Regard to It* (New York, 1859).

1796, supplemented by some acts of the 1800 Conference, were applied in Dorchester County.

The earliest record quoted was from the Quarterly Meeting held March 3, 1804:

Levin Lecompt having purchased a negro girl named Cloe, for which he gave the sum of two hundred dollars, and having submitted the matter to Conference, they thereupon determined that said Levin Lecompt shall make and record a regular manumission for said girl previous to the next Quarterly Meeting, and that he shall be authorized to hold the said girl for the term of twelve years from the first day of January last past. Died.⁷⁴

At the April 6, 1805, proceedings of the Quarterly Conference three cases were handled: ⁷⁵

The case of Joseph Meekins, who has purchased a negro woman and child, was considered. *Resolved*, That the said negro woman shall serve eight years, and the said boy named Ben shall serve until he is twenty-six years old. Expelled for non-compliance.

The case of Samuel Cook, who had purchased a negro woman named Henney, was considered. *Resolved*, That the said woman shall serve fourteen years from the time of her purchase.

The case of Ezekiel Vickars, who had purchased a negro man named Sawney, was considered. *Resolved*, That the said negro man shall serve four years from the time of his purchase.

Almost a year later, at the March 14, 1806 Conference, there were eight cases. Joseph Summers was told to hold a nineteen year old slave and a ten year old boy only until they reached the age of twenty-five when they were to be free. Daniel Martin could keep sixteen year old Ben until he reached twenty-five. Job Wheatley must liberate fourteen year old Rose at the age of twenty-one. Twenty-three year old Moses who had cost Walter Rawleigh £100, must serve ten years from the time he was purchased. Twenty-three year old David was luckier; he had to serve Henry Traverse only *nine* years from the time of purchase (perhaps because the purchase price was only £90 in this case). Fifty year old James Hicks, who cost only ten dollars, was to be freed by Henry Arnett two years after the time of purchase. Levin Saunders could keep a two year old child

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

named Ritty until she became twenty-one; but his Negro woman Minty who by former manumission had six years and nine months service remaining might be held to serve her full time out. The final case at this Conference was that of Ezekiel Vickars, who had been dealt with a year earlier about another slave. This time he was told that he might retain twenty-one year old James Blake, who had cost £88, "eight years from January last."⁷⁶ On June 20, 1806, it was recorded that "Ez. Vickars, Walter Rawleigh, Job Whitely, Sam. Cook, and James Summers gave satisfactory assurances to the Conference that they had complied with the resolves of last Conference respecting the manumission of their slaves."⁷⁷

In the printed extracts from these old minutes Mattison has recorded twenty-eight cases including the ones which have been quoted or cited above. They show three different ways these 1796 rules were applied in the opening years of the nineteenth century. In 1805 Joseph Meekins was expelled for refusing to agree to free his two recently bought slaves after the suggested period of service. Roger Robertson was "disowned as a member" in 1806 for "selling a negro for life, alleging ignorance of the rules of the Society." And, on August 6, 1814, "On examination, it was found the said Daniel held slaves, and not willing to give assurance of their emancipation, the Conference refused to grant him license."⁷⁸

The last manumission case in this manuscript came on February 16, 1816—in spite of the fact that the Quarterly Conference record extended to May 2, 1829. For the last thirteen years it preserved a profound silence on the subject of slavery. Mattison (in 1859) and Norwood (in 1944) both interpret this to mean that the rules against slavery ceased to be enforced and that the anti-slavery spirit soon waned both within the Methodist Church and outside the Church.⁷⁹ It is true that in the Methodist Church there was a slow but constant weakening of the 1796 and 1800 rules by later General Conferences. The only real step forward taken came in 1816 when the Methodist Church enacted a rule that *in the future* no slaveholder should be admitted to membership. Before long, however, says Norwood, "the Church was . . . able to look without serious protest

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 27, 28.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28; Norwood, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

on the presence of slavery—that ‘ execrable sum of all villainies,’ in its midst.”⁸⁰ In 1844 a schism took place in the Methodist Church, largely over the slavery question. A division occurred in The Baltimore Conference. Eastern Shore Methodists, however, belonged to the Philadelphia Conference which did not separate. A few congregations in Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot did split and the new groups joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The great mass of Methodists, however, remained outside the Southern Methodist movement in this tri-county area.

Manumissions continued to take place in Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot throughout this whole period, with the greatest number coming between 1800 to 1809. During this time there were one hundred and thirty-one manumission deeds recorded in Caroline County (eighty-two of them for two or more slaves), two hundred and sixty-two in Talbot County (for almost seven hundred slaves), and two hundred and seventy in Dorchester (for five hundred and ninety-eight Negroes). Most of these were Methodists freeing their slaves, although there are also found a few Quakers emancipating inherited slaves and also a growing number of free Negroes manumitting their wives and children whose freedom they had apparently bought. In this ten year period from 1800-1809 many Methodists continued to give immediate freedom, just as the Quakers and Nicholites had done earlier (except in the case of some minors). There was, however, a growing tendency to grant delayed manumission instead of outright or immediate freedom. With the weakening of the Methodist rules on slavery this was to be expected.

From 1810 through 1819 there were seventy-seven deeds of manumission recorded in Caroline County (thirty-four of them for two or more slaves), one hundred and forty-four in Dorchester (freeing three hundred and twenty-five slaves), and two hundred and ten in Talbot (sixty-four for two or more slaves). Most of these were manumitted by Methodists. Again one notes the growing tendency to grant delayed freedom. John Seward in Dorchester manumitted thirty-three slaves in 1817—three of them immediately and thirty of them at different dates which

⁸⁰ Norwood, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

stretch from 1822 to 1846.⁸¹ In this same ten year period the number of Negroes manumitting their wives and/or children continued to increase. One also notes that members of other churches occasionally freed their slaves. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, well-known Western Shore Roman Catholic, manumitted thirty Talbot County slaves in 1816 and 1817. These Negroes, "being part of my slaves settled on Popular Island," were to be free at dates which ranged from 1824 through 1856.⁸²

Manumissions continued to be recorded with some degree of regularity from 1820 until about 1833. Caroline County had eighty-four such deeds recorded (thirty of them for two or more slaves) and Talbot County records contain one hundred eighty-seven (with sixty-nine for two or more Negroes). Dorchester County saw two hundred and ten slaves manumitted from 1820 through 1826 when, for some unknown reasons, manumissions disappear from the county records. A few of these contain references to money being paid to the owner. A larger number cover free Negroes manumitting their wives and/or children (and occasionally grandchildren). The majority of these manumissions, however, bear evidence of having been motivated by religious conviction and are, for the most part, by Methodists (who by this time had come to make up the great majority of the inhabitants of these three counties).

After 1833 emancipation of slaves dropped quite rapidly in this tri-county area. Some years came and went without any deeds of manumission being recorded. From 1833 to 1858 Caroline County records show an average of two such documents per year. Only with the coming of the Civil War does this number increase, with fifty recorded from late 1858 through 1864 (when the adoption of a new State Constitution freed the remaining slaves in the State). Talbot manumissions picked up in 1858 with ten recorded and five in 1859.⁸³ There was a great upsurge in the freeing of slaves in 1860 when one hundred and four were freed (only seven of which were given immediate

⁸¹ Dorchester County Land Records, Liber ER4, Folio 321.

⁸² Talbot County Land Records, Liber 39, Folios 296, 301. This seems rather surprising when one remembers that Charles Carroll expressed abolition views earlier and even offered a bill in the Maryland Senate in the late 1790's to bring about an end to slavery in the State.

⁸³ These last manumissions are in the Talbot County Chattel Records, Libri STH#1, STH#2, and STH#3, located in the Office of the Clerk of the Court.

freedom). 1864, the last year of slavery in Maryland, saw nine liberated in Talbot County. Most of these 1864 manumissions in both Caroline and Talbot were for Negroes who had enlisted in the Northern forces.⁸⁴ Religious influences were not absent in these closing thirty-one years of manumission, but economic and political forces were openly at work side by side with them.

⁸⁴ I wish to express my gratitude to Miss Nellie Marshall of Cambridge for the great amount of work she did in helping me search the local public records of these three counties.

SIDELIGHTS

A VIRGINIAN AND HIS BALTIMORE DIARY:

PART IV

Edited by DOUGLAS H. GORDON

(Continued from vol. LI [Sept. 1956], 236, the diarist is John M. Gordon,
prominent Baltimore banker and attorney)

THE PHILADELPHIA JOURNEY

1835

Thursday 24th Sep. 1835. Arrived here yesterday at three o'clock after a very pleasant sail up the bay and river. Found Dr. C. waiting on the wharf for us. Genrl. Hunter and Mrs. H. and Harry Ingersoll came up with us, likewise James Vass and family on their way emigrating to Mobile. Meyer and Steuart came up to hear Binney's oration. Genrl. H. and Lady arrived at our house on Wednesday to dinner and spent the night with us. We had many calls during the day we left. We found a nice dinner prepared for us at the Dr.'s, rice birds as fat as their skins would hold. In the afternoon Mrs. Read, Miss Sally Waln, Genl. Cad., John Cadwalader, James Biddle¹ and Church came in to see us and we had a very agreeable evening. This morning I went to James Biddle's office to attend to an attachment of Poor and Keyser and Hart and Co. v. James Campbell which I think will secure the claim.

Saturday night Sep. 26th. Went to hear Mr. Binney's² oration on Thursday, on Chief Justice Marshall. Was very much gratified with it, but thought it inferior to what might have been expected from Mr. Binney's high reputation for his classical as well as other attainments. I thought it cold, severe and too abstract in its character. No bold apostrophy. None of that glowing enthusiasm which such a mind as his should have been warmed with at the godlike simplicity of Marshall's character. Webster will write the best eulogy.

Dined on Friday with Com^o Biddle and Genrl: Hunter at Reads. Wallack sat opposite. I was introduced to him and found him agreeable. Went to see him to night in Bertram and found it very stupid. Dined to day with Ingraham present, James Biddle, Jno:

¹ *DAB*, II, 240-241. Com. East India Squadron; Head of Naval Asylum. John Cadwalader, lawyer, jurist (*ibid.* III, 398-399).

² Horace Binney, lawyer, director First Bank of U.S. (1808); diarist speaks of his *Eulogy on the Life and Character of John Marshall* (*ibid.* II, 280-282).

Cad., Nicholson of Navy, Ingersoll³ and Read,—very agreeable party and nice dinner. I like all of the above named persons very much. Read I think has a great deal of merit. Ingersoll is over-rated, but will make a very respectable lawyer. Paid several calls this morning with Genrl: Hunter.

Prejudice is another name for boyishness. Rece^d letters from Wm. K. G., Susan, and Anna Campbell yesterday. Wrote a letter of introduction to Basil B. Gordon this morning for Wadsworth. Sent him a long letter by the mail of 1st.

Monday Sep. 28th. Returned calls yesterday morning and dined with Peters at 4 o'clock. Present—Messrs. Thom. Biddle, Ingersoll, Drayton, Thom. Willing, young Church, Capt. Read and a Mr. Holmes from S. Carolina. I sat by Capt: Read and had a long and agreeable conversation with him on several subjects. I like the Capt. very much. Came home at 7 and found the ladies all at Mrs. Read's. Went round and had a charming evening. Mrs. R.'s house is the most beautiful establishment I ever saw. More luxurious and in better taste, perhaps, than any thing in this country and she is a model of a most accomplished, refined, fascinating, unaffected woman,—a rare combination of merit and modesty. I dine with them to day.

Sunday went to the Quaker meeting and heard a short sermon from an old woman. How impossible it is for youth to conceal itself under an old bonnet or any old style of dress. You are certain to see a pretty little foote and finely turned ankle peering out from a stiff petticoat, a soft flexible neck throwing itself into some gracefull attitude, and the little fidgety hand playing with the glove on its lap. I am fond of Quaker meetings occasionally as affording such fine subjects for the study of character. The old men with the characters of thought so deeply written on their brows and human pride in the vain endeavour to subdue it, shewing itself in some new garb. The concentration and suppression of the passions must make them more burning and violent.

Walked out to the Garden this morning and bought a handsome bunch of flowers for Emily which were sent in my name to E. Read.

Tuesday night—Dined with Capt. Read to day. A most luxurious entertainment and agreeable conversation. Dr. Tidderman of S. C., Mr. Peters, Dr. Randolph, George S. Fisher, Church and Ingersoll were the guests. The dinner reminded me of Glaucus in the last days of Pompeii. Mrs. Read was entirely delightfull. She gave us some sweet music after coffee. Her execution is most brilliant. Called with Genrl. Hunter on my way home on Mr. Carroll, clerk of U. S. Court.

I haven't mentioned Emily's eyes. They were so weak and inflamed on our arrival here that she had to be leeches. 40 were applied to each eye which gave her temporary relief but have not

³ Edward Ingersoll, lawyer, author (*ibid.*, IX, 467).

effected a complete cure. Poor thing she has to keep within doors much to the marring of the pleasure of her visit. Reced: a letter from Susan yesterday, announcing the death of our good old uncle, Dr. Knox, of debility brought on by a chronic infection of the bowels. Requiescat in pace! His existence had become a burden to him from disease and his life was an illustration how talents and education may be perverted and rendered even a misfortune from indecision of character. Fickleness was the rock on which he split.

Wednesday Sep. 30th Rose early. Read Coleridge's table talk. Wrote a letter to Susan.

Friday Octr 2nd. Dined Wednesday at home with Messrs. Thom, Edward and James Biddle, Peters, Dr. Tiddiman, Mr. Wharton and Dr. Harris. We had a very handsome dinner and some agreeable conversation. Was charmed with Dr. Tiddiman, who is a nullifier and brimfull of feeling and generosity. I have always found the Nullifier a gentleman of the first water. *Homon factus* ⁴ *ad unguem*. Capt. Read likewise dined with us. We dined yesterday at Genrl. Cadwalader's, a family dinner, as usual a most beautiful meal. We had a pleasant game of whist after dinner, the Dr. and Genrl. H. against Thom. and me. They beat us. The Dr. is certainly a good whist player. The Genrl: and I sat with Thom smoking segars untill midnight. I took only a part of one which made me deadly sick untill I go in to the fresh air. Wrote to Alexander yesterday. Spent this morning returning calls.

Saturday Octr 3rd. Dined yesterday with Sidney Fisher. A very agreeable party consisting of Peter McCall, Joshua Fisher, Smith, Dr. Mutter and Fisher, Jr. We had an animated conversation and adjourned at 6½. I like McCall very much. Went thence to Mrs. Waln's for Emily. Found Mrs. Read and Petit there. The husbands came in towards the close of the evening. Carter Warmly was there. We plaid whist. I won a pair of gloves from Mrs. Read. Came home at eleven. The Dr. startled me when I came back by telling me that I was expected to speak when Va: is toasted to day at the dinner. Rose early therefore, walked to the Alms House before breakfast and concocted a speech which I have been modelling into sentences this morning. It will be my first effort in public and if I deliver it properly will be not a failure. I feel no alarm or agitation or excitement about it looking at it half an hour off and think I shall get through without any. Genrl and Mrs. Hunter went to New York today. The Dr. has just brought in a beautifull silk for Emily. I am delighted with Mrs. Petit. *She is witty, humourous and refined.*

Sunday Octr. 4th. Went to hear Dr Ducachet preach to day. I like him less each time I hear him. With the reputation of an orator he has not one quality, in my opinion, to constitute him such. His words, in which he displays neither good taste nor dis-

crimination, fall upon my ear like the thumping of a drum as hollow and as windy. His sermon as a composition is as full of false ornament as a sophmore's. A figure of speech is to him a Jack o' the lantern. In whatever direction he may be going, and with any object, whenever one of those foul exhalations arises from the putrefaction of a sickly imagination, he turns aside, and follows it through brake and dell, bog and briars, scratching his hands and face, tearing his clothes, sinking in the mud and leaving his followers to lose their way and flounder into pit falls. He is one of those ministers whose sermons have an unhappy effect on mind and temper. He has a bad countenance, a false voice, an affected manner, none of the modest humility of the Christian gentleman, and as to vanity he might bstride the gossamer and yet not sink. I may be uncharitable or mistaken. But does not religion always make one a gentleman, especially a teacher of it.

I dined yesterday at Heads with Dr. Patterson and a large party of gentlemen. The dinner was given to the Dr. on the occasion of his return from Va. to live in Pha. There were about fifty persons present, chiefly members of the Philosophical Society. Mr. Duponceau presided, assisted by Dr. Chapman. Dunlap, Dr. Mutter, Kane, Dr. Tiddiman of S. C., Coln. Drayton of do now of Pha.; Mr. Thom. Biddle and some others of my acquaintances were there.

After Duponceau had toasted Dr. Paterson, to which he replied very handsomely, Dr. Chapman followed in a short speech and toasted the University of Va: Whereupon I made a few remarks as follows:

I perceive, Mr. President, that the absence of a more worthy and proper representative of the state Va: has devolved upon myself the agreeable task of responding to the sentiment, which has just been uttered in compliment to her university at Charlottesville. For although my allegiance and home have been transferred to an adjoining state, yet I hold it to be the duty as well as the privilege of every true son of the Old Dominion, as it is my pleasure, on the present occasion, not to suffer a compliment to my native state to pass by, without expressing for her her deep sense of the high tributes of admiration and affection which have been offered to me, of her literary institutions. The State of Va.; Sir, always ready to open her arms to the sons of her ancient Friend, Pennsylvania, considered herself peculiarly fortunate in having secured for her darling university (the last, best gift of Thomas Jefferson to his countrymen) as one of its professors, the services of your distinguished fellow citizen, whom, we have this day met, to wellcome back among you. It was of the last importance to that Institution, thus to have enjoyed during the precarious period of its infancy, the fostering care of one, whose rare intellectual and moral endowments no less beautifully adorned the paths of private life, than they happily illustrated the principles of that science which he had it in charge to expound. His adopted Mother had indulged the hope that having thus become, he was ever to remain

one of her children. She considered him but a fair equivalent for those sons (meaning Drs. Chapman and Horner) whom with an impoverishing liberality she had bestowed upon your university, and, whose felicity it has been, in returning annually to their native state a number of her youth instructed in the art which restores health to the sick, *to realize the beautifull story* of the Roman Daughter in giving back life to the parent from whom it was derived! But in this fond hope she was doomed to be disappointed. After a brilliant career of some six years, having succeeded with the other illustrious guardians of the University,—in conducting it safely through the perils of its infancy and in establishing it on an enduring foundation, when, as your fellow citizen has so touchingly told you, the still small voice of nature rose within him, and his heart yearned towards his native city, Va.; then, remembering that there is no place like home, gratefull for his past services, subdued every selfish consideration and now restore him back to you, for a continued career of usefulness and distinction, reserving only to herself one precious hostage (meaning his daughter) as a pledge of his affectionate remembrance. Gentlemen the compliment which has been offered to Va: is peculiarly gratifying to her feelings, considered in reference to the source from which it comes. What City is more distinguished than yours for the liberality of the public institutions and the intelligence of its inhabitants. What place more endeared to the hearts of Virginians from the remembrance of ancient Friendships, from generous pride in the noble achievements of our ancestors in the halls of independence and in the common Battle fields of a common cause. It is consecrated as the spot which closed the career of her Randolph and it is hallowed in her affections as the scene where the last sad offices of humanity were paid to the mortal part of her beloved Marshall!

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam Cari capitis—

Cui Pudor, et justiciæ soror
incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas

Quando ullum invenient parem?

Allow me, Sir, to offer you a sentiment. ⁴

The City of Pha., alike distinguished by the liberality of its public institutions and the elegant hospitality of its inhabitants.

Quite a pretty little speech that! It was delivered and brought down upon me a shower of compliments.

Monday Octr. 5th. Dined yesterday at Wharton's with Wadsworth. A family dinner. Emily dined with her friend Mrs. Thom. Wharton. She was to go to the dentist this morning but the death of his mother disappoints her, so I fear her teeth must trouble her all the winter.

Called yesterday to congratulate James Biddle on the birth of his

⁴ Horace, *Satires* I, V, 32.

son. Mr. Duponceau, the president of the dinner gave some funny speeches. The old Gentleman committed the ludicrous mistake of drinking his own health when he was toasted. Kane, Tiddiman, Drayton, Dunlap and others made very pretty speeches, but none of them I thought so happily turned as mine. Paid some calls this morning and wrote down my dinner speech. I dine to day with Mr. Edward Biddle.

Wednesday, Oct. 7th. Monday dined at Edward Biddle's with James B. and Dunlap. We had a very nice meal and an agreeable afternoon. Read Cicero's letters and went to bed early. I have only read his letters *passim*. I must take them up and read them regularly through. Dined yesterday at home the first time since the day of our arrival. In the evening went in with the Dr. to Old Mr. Robinson's and had a pleasant game of whist. Went to day with Emily to get her teeth fixed, which I am happy to say are now in fine order. We dine to day with Mrs. Fisher, Joshua's Mother, and spend the evening with Mrs. Hayne of S. C. at Mrs. Capt. Read's. We go down tomorrow. [To Baltimore]

⁵ These are a combination of lines 1 and 6-8 of Horace *Odes* I, 24.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Charleston's Sons of Liberty: A Study of the Artisans, 1763-1789.

By RICHARD WALSH. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959. xii, 166. \$4.25.

While the broad outlines of our Revolutionary history have now been well documented and judiciously interpreted, the role of class, caste, and region in that conflict still remains to be spelled out. Dr. Walsh's study of revolutionary ferment in Charleston helps fill this void, and proves to be a significant contribution to the history of the Southern artisan class.

We have long known a good deal about the merchants of Charleston, more recently from Leila Sellers' investigation, and we have had fragmentary knowledge of the role of labor, chiefly drawn from Yates Snowden's useful article written many years ago, but, save for Christopher Gadsden and possibly Peter Timothy, the composition of the radical party of Charleston has remained obscure. Dr. Walsh throws the spotlight on the artisan class, on the one hand engaged in a struggle against Negro slave competition, on the other squeezed by imports of British manufactured goods. What forged the alliance between mechanics and planters, according to the author, was their mutual acceptance of the need for a cheap currency, which the creditor merchant class opposed. Names like the Fellowship Society and the John Wilkes Club spearheaded the mechanics' organization for political as well as economic action. Men like Edward Weyman the cabinetmaker and William Johnson the blacksmith were their leaders. Christopher Gadsden, the wealthy merchant, was their spokesman until he broke with this group in 1778 over the issue of extending the time limit for taking the oath of loyalty.

In reading this volume one must avoid the danger of oversimplified generalizations about the artisan class, first as to their politics, and second as to their composition. Many mechanics were Loyalists, and either left the province at the start of the Revolution or made their peace with the British government after the occupation of the city by the Red Coats. Indeed, the list of the "Friends of Government" contained an impressive number of artisans. Some one hun-

dred mechanics, as Dr. Walsh points out, petitioned the British occupation government to bar Patriot prisoners on parole from carrying on their trades and occupations. We only wish it had been possible for the author to give us an estimate of what percentage of the total membership of the artisan class was initially or later turned Tory.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the mechanics and artisans who are treated in this book are master mechanics, employers of labor. Their combinations, noteworthy in the 1780's, were employer combinations for monopolistic purposes, not trade unions. It was the fashion in Revolutionary times for the "honest mechanic" to pose as a "workingman." In some cases he did work with his hands, but in point of fact he was a small capitalist, perhaps one notch in the social scale below the merchant. He was not a journeyman, although the line was obviously fluid.

Dr. Walsh's analysis of artisan trends in the Confederation period is both incisive and informative. Planters and mechanics, he shows, soon divided over such issues as wage-fixing and the importation of foreign artisans, both of which the countryside favored. Moreover, Gadsden continued to antagonize the radical mechanics by advocating the conciliatory treatment of the Tories. The defeat of the radicals in 1784, in part the result of permitting Tories to participate in the election, highlights the split which had long been developing in the mechanics' party. Once the state fell into the grip of the depression, starting after 1785, merchants and mechanics agreed on a program to broaden trade, seek new money crops, and inflate the currency, and this program secured the grudging approval of the planters. The seriousness of the depression is borne out by Dr. Walsh's chart showing employment trends, 1765-90, with the dip not seriously arrested until 1789, and employment dramatically rising in 1790. Of unusual value also is Dr. Walsh's supplemental table of daily wages, 1710-83, gleaned from the records of the court of common pleas and other miscellaneous sources.

Dr. Walsh finds, as one might expect, that the artisans strongly favored the Federal Constitution because they wanted a tariff which would protect them against foreign dumping. He would find this to be true in all other important urban centers in 1787-88. The town working class everywhere enthusiastically supported the Constitution. The mechanics, so influential in the Revolutionary generation, were a negligible factor in ante-bellum South Carolina. Already slave owners, they invested in land, and they or their progeny became planters, which offered greater prestige and apparently quicker profits. Whether or not slave competition drove the

mechanics out of the trades prior to 1789—and Dr. Walsh's evidence would show that it had not—there is no doubt that a free artisan class could not flourish under an expanding slave system. All these different facets of a problem, hitherto understood in the vaguest way, are treated in this intensely interesting book, which will repay reading by all students of the Revolutionary generation.

RICHARD B. MORRIS

Columbia University

Maryland in the Civil War. By HAROLD R. MANAKEE. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1961. 173. \$4.50.

Maryland in the Civil War is a small book, but should prove of great value and interest to the general reader and any wanting a handbook for ready reference. In ten chapters beginning with the John Brown Raid and ending with the assassination of President Lincoln the author tells much of the story of the impact of the war in Maryland. To these ten are added chapters on the Maryland Units in The War and Marylanders of Flag or General Rank.

If one is seeking a military account of the war, he will be disappointed for this book is limited chiefly to the war in Maryland and only one chapter is devoted to military engagements. If on the other hand the reader is concerned with the feelings of the man on the street and restrictions forced upon him by a coercive power determined to keep him and the state in line, he will be pleasantly rewarded. A chapter of three pages recounts the birth of James Ryder Randall's "Maryland, My Maryland" and efforts to fit it with a proper tune. A longer chapter tells something of prison life in Point Lookout and Fort McHenry. Some may not know that Point Lookout was among the largest of Union prisons for Confederates. Fort McHenry made famous by Francis Scott Key in 1814 received new fame of a sort in 1861 because of the detention there of civilian prisoners. Among these were a son-in-law and grandson of Francis Scott Key.

Ten maps and thirty-odd pictures—some not often seen by this reviewer—lend clarity and interest.

The text is superior to the index. Some may wish that names were fuller either in the text or index. In the index there are seven references to Gen. Jubal A. Early, but neither here nor on the pages cited can one learn his middle name or initial. The following are referred to three or more times each in the text but are not

shown in the index: Richard S. Ewell, Nathaniel P. Banks, Phillip H. Sheridan, David Hunter and Joseph E. Johnston.

One error of long standing is found on p. 148 in the omission of the final letter in Merrimack. One may possibly wish the surrender of Joseph E. Johnston had been reported April 26th at the Bennet house between Durham and Hillsboro rather than in May near Greensboro, N. C. This reviewer believes the action shown in the sketch of Confederates in New Windsor was done by Frederick Dielman after the Gilmor raid in 1864.

One may hope that wide response to this book will quickly cause a second printing thus affording the author opportunity to make corrections and increase the usefulness of *Maryland in the Civil War*.

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

Western Maryland College

Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889.

By HUGH HAWKINS. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960. xiv, 368. \$6.50.

The pioneering of the Johns Hopkins University is one of the most important events in Maryland's history, and one of the most important events in the intellectual and educational history of the United States as well. Professor Hugh Hawkins is not concerned with the place of the University in Maryland's history, and he is not concerned with the story of founders and finances and buildings and administration. All that has been done recently in an adequate book by John C. French. Instead, Professor Hawkins is concerned with the new intellectual disciplines which emerged under great teachers like C. S. Pierce, Herbert Baxter Adams, Richard T. Ely and Ira Remsen, and with the ideas which percolated among that astonishing galaxy of students which included Woodrow Wilson, John Dewey, Frederick Jackson Turner, Josiah Royce and Thorstein Veblen.

The Hopkins University was devoted to a new principle in American education. Relatively unconcerned with traditional collegiate training in a fixed body of knowledge, it created a home for a corps of professors and graduate students devoted to expanding the boundaries of knowledge. The radical new aim of education required radical new approaches: academic freedom, the almost complete absence of student rules and discipline, graduate fellowships, specialization, electives, the equality of science and modern

languages with the classics, an intimate tie with the universities of Europe, and above all a unique enthusiasm for learning for its own sake.

The new approach to education was wonderfully successful. In this rarefied atmosphere the ideas of Darwinism, pragmatism, natural law, socialism and capitalism clashed violently. And while the innocent Baltimoreans wondered what possible practical result could ever come from the endless talk and tinkering inside the ugly little buildings, the professors were quietly revolutionizing the values and morals and government and technology of the entire world. As an educational institution Hopkins lost its eminence by 1889, but only because a score of other institutions were now dominated by its students and had accepted its methods.

Professor Hawkins' scholarship is beautiful, his style is clear, his ideas are exciting, and the work has perspective and breadth. He avoids the easy pitfall of memorializing "the first real university," and has done infinitely more by tracing the emergence of "the university idea" as Hopkins symbolized it. He examines the significance and meaning of such concepts as specialization and academic freedom. He shows, for example, how Hopkins signalized the emergence of a new American profession, that of the university professor, and how this meant not only the ivory tower of scholarship, but also the publish-or-perish self-advertisement of business.

The study began as a Hopkins dissertation, and some of that is still evident, both in its faults as well as its virtues. Occasionally the author is too close to his subject and becomes bogged down in the promotions or resignations of assistant professors. He is sometimes inclined to relate the great intellectual currents of the times to Hopkins, rather than to relate Hopkins to the currents of the times. And occasionally there is a needless repetition and division of material, as when he considers the intellectual tone of the University (Chapter XVI) apart from the emerging disciplines (Chapters VI-XI). In summary, however, this is a monograph in the finest Hopkins tradition—and that says a lot for Professor Hawkins and a lot for a great University.

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

University of Maryland

My Partner, the River: The White Pine Story on the Susquehanna.

By R. DUDLEY TONKIN. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958. 276. \$6.

To one who has recently crossed the Susquehanna at Conowingo or driven next to the languid, rail-flanked river on US 15 at Williamsport, it is something of a jolt to open R. Dudley Tonkin's *My Partner, the River* and read of bearded timbermen rafting down to Port Deposit, of Spar kings, splashes, and logging wars. One of the last participants in an often overlooked sector of the post Civil War boom, Mr. Tonkin painstakingly chronicles a colorful era and a vigorous industry that formed an integral part of Maryland shipbuilding.

As the title indicates, the author writes of his river-partner and the timbermen with affection and admiration. Tracing the over fifty years of volume logging on the Susquehanna through 1901, Mr. Tonkin moves at a slow, winding, almost circuitous pace, using a wealth of anecdotal material to detail logging and rafting techniques and business arrangements. The study describes the influx of pioneers and down easters to the pine and oak country of the river. Particularly prominent is the description of the activities of John Patchin, the "Spar King," one of the early men to buy up stands of pine, sensing that time would increase the value of the timber. Indicating the shrewd business sense of this down easter, Tonkin describes a father-son transaction. The elder Patchin instructed his son, Horace: "Go to Clearfield and buy the Beaver Run Tract, buy it before the sun sets." Horace went thirty-five miles down river, bought it, and returned the next day with the news that he had made the purchase. Only later did the Spar King find out that the son had bought the tract in his own name. A sharp trader himself, the elder Patchin was pleased.

Early activity on the river was dominated by the rafters who floated spar and mast timber down river. One of these, John Chase, rode his pine spars from the Susquehanna through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal and the Raritan Canal to New York Bay, saw it towed around Cape Cod to Boston to compete in that market with Maine pine. Tonkin indicates that the three month operation invariably brought in a profit. By the late 1840's the rafters were joined by the loggers and the river was rimmed with booms and larger sawmills. A war ensued between the timbermen. The rafters claimed that loose logs were a hazard and drove iron into the logs to break sawmill blades and discourage competition. A tense situation exploded into gunfire and a court fight.

Eventually, the rivalry led to log peeling, an improvement inadvertently pointed out by the rafters.

The bustle of logging camps, the building of slides, the work of horse and oxen teams drawing logs over Pennsylvania snow, the excitement of carefully timed splashes, the cries of "She hauls!" ending a jam, the hard decisions and skill in estimating the worth of a tree and the method of cutting the great spars on Crest Creek are fully drawn. The technical detail, copies of charters and contracts, the helpful appendices listing 327 rafting points and 409 Susquehanna logging pilots, and the apt use of the author's own experience provide a needed history of a vital era of the river.

DOROTHY M. BROWN

College of Notre Dame of Maryland

Pelts and Palisades: The Story of Fur and the Rivalry for Pelts in Early America. By NATHANIEL C. HALE. Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1959. x, 219. \$4.75.

Colonel Nathaniel Hale has done it again. About his *Virginia Venturer* (1951) most reviewers were fairly enraptured: "vivid, informative, and interesting," "a clear and factual account," "a splendid history of the time," "a remarkable job of research," and many other encomiums, with only occasional faint praise, such as: "Mr. Hale writes well," or "a clear presentation." In *Pelts and Palisades* he again uses fur as the motivating force that drove adventurers up the new-found rivers, over the indefinite valleys and deep into the unknown interior—to the Mississippi and the far side of the Great Lakes—especially after they were unable to find a northwestern passage to Cathay, or gold and silver in the newly-discovered hills.

Hale somewhat details the explorations and settlements of the French, Dutch, Swedes, and English in the New World with, always, the Spanish silver-laden ships and southward settlements in the background. But it is the *find* of "golden fleece" (pelts) that predominates both in the survival of the early settlers and traders, and the English settlements (treated chronologically) out of which America arose. He tells succinctly the story of the fur trade as it developed in the Chesapeake Bay system, the planting of a settlement on Kent Island and the peltry forces that aggravated the situation when, later on, Lord Baltimore settled and started, through Captain Henry Fleet, to take over the rich trade with the Indians.

Here it could be said "as always in the past, fur was a symbol of power and prestige."

The text shows great understanding and is the product of engaging skill. It makes the history of exploring, adventuring and pioneering in North America fairly bristle and glow, though it appears to oversimplify a bit objectives and motives. Source materials are used extensively, though detailed documentation needed for the convenience of the scholar to check evidence is not given. Rather, there is a comprehensive bibliography. And, incidentally, little is said about the palisades, their history, size structure, variations and effectiveness, although they constitute one-half of the title and their presence oft is mentioned.

Probably because the settler had become trapper and Indian trading far less important, a highly noteworthy person and event were not treated. The intrepid pelt seeker, Alexander Mackenzie, crossed the Rockies and, some time before the Lewis and Clark expedition, became the first to "conquer the continent," journeying by foot, horse and canoe from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Earlier this Scotsman broadly explored northern Canada where he found fur-bearers in abundance and of high quality. His northern venture has been memorialized in the District of Mackenzie, the big Mackenzie Mountains, and the great Mackenzie River. That his transcontinental *first* is memorialized only by a bronze plaque set in a small monument at the Pacific end of his trail might well have been fine but generally unknown factual information to blend into Colonel Hale's vivid story of *Pelts and Palisades*.

R. V. TRUITT

Stevensville, Md.

The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland. By EDWIN WARFIELD BIETZELL. n. p., 1960. 320. \$7.50.

In 1634, when Lord Baltimore landed in what is now St. Mary's County, he brought with him Father Andrew White, S. J., a prominent English Jesuit, and several companions.

From that time until now—a period of 327 years—the Jesuit Fathers have played a prominent part in the religious history of Maryland. The story of their 327 years in St. Mary's County has been written by Mr. Bietzell with great devotion and care, and is a thoroughly interesting account of the heroic labors of the Society of Jesus in this small area during this long period of time.

Soon after the landing in St. Mary's City, Father White and his fellow Jesuits, in addition to caring for the spiritual needs of the colonists, worked with great zeal for the evangelization of the Indians.

At first, their task was made easier by the patronage of Lord Baltimore and the religious toleration that he established in the colony, and many missions were established.

In 1689, at the time of the Proestant Revolt, the Fathers were severely persecuted, and their churches and schools confiscated. From then until 1760, they worked under great hardship and misunderstanding to administer to the Catholic population under their care.

Scarcely had the persecutions ceased when a new trial confronted the Fathers, with the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV. For the next 25 years, the Fathers continued their work with great difficulty under the direction of the Vicar Apostolic of London.

From the date of the restoration of the Society in 1814 until the present day, the work of the Jesuits in St. Mary's County has been somewhat easier. It is a long record of zealous and apostolic work and steady growth, until today St. Mary's County is the most Catholic county in the United States, settled by English-speaking people, with over 11,000 Catholics out of a population of 14,000.

Particular mention should be made of the very successful missions established during this period, both before and after the Civil War, for the Negro population of the county.

This book, written as it is with great devotion and after painstaking research, is a most readable and interesting account of a very important phase of the religious history of this country.

REV. THOMAS A. WHELAN

Baltimore, Md.

Parishes of the Diocese of Maryland. By NELSON W. RIGHTMYER, Reisterstown, Md. 1960. 47 pages and 33 looseleaf maps. \$3.

Among the first Acts of the Maryland Assembly of 1692 was one for the establishment in Maryland of the "Church of England as by law established" in the Mother Country. Provision was made for laying out parishes, for the yearly collection of forty pounds of tobacco per taxable, for the election of vestrymen and for the erection of churches. The ten counties were divided into thirty parishes.

The word parish here meant a more or less convenient geographical area of spiritual responsibility which had a population sufficient to support a church and minister. Its boundaries were usually markers on the natural terrain such as bays, rivers and streams.

Dr. Rightmyer, who is historiographer of the Diocese of Maryland, has adequately described the parishes of 1692 with the subsequent growth and changes. His booklet, fully illustrated with maps and of interest to antiquarians, was made for the very practical purpose of supplying a basis for much-needed rearrangement of parish lines to fit the present use of the Episcopal Church.

GEORGE B. SCRIVEN

Baltimore, Md.

The Scholar Adventurers. By RICHARD D. ALTICK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. viii, 338. \$1.45.

This book was published first in 1950, but not being reviewed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* may have escaped these readers' attention. Now it appears as a paperback and a really good opportunity knocks again.

The thing is that *The Scholar Adventurers* is our kind of book; it is about the joys and perils and complications and excitements of scholarly research. Especially it is about the fascinating people, both quick and dead, that research students meet. Mr. Altick's "adventurers" are not, true, our branch of historians; they are English professors and the like who are preoccupied with such problems as Wordsworth's illegitimate child, what Burns died of if not alcoholism, and who Thomas Malory really was. We would rather know how William Parks's father made his living, who built the old Slicer House in Annapolis, and much more about Onorio Razolini. Also, comparatively few of us are professional researchers. But our problems and procedures are just the same, and Mr. Altick says for us all the things we wish we could say as well.

Delightfully written, and quite as exciting as any of Henry Gamadge's cases, *The Scholar Adventurers* is instruction nevertheless, precept and example. Four chapters, The Unsung Scholar, Hunting for Manuscripts, The Scholar and the Scientist, and The Destructive Elements, particularly help us. And we need, perhaps, to read Hunting for Manuscripts twice.

Of our two most requisite traits, Mr. Altick says (he has already discussed hard work and pure fool luck), "One is the simple quality of patience"; the other, "implied in all I have said," is

the ability to talk the birds out of the trees. It may not be scholarly, but after finishing *The Scholar Adventurers*, we may look back on some of our research failures and begin on Dale Carnegie.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

The Szolds of Lombard Street: A Baltimore Family, 1859-1909. By ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960. viii, 418. \$5.

Between 1860 and 1920 something like 150,000 Europeans took up residence in Baltimore. By the latter date a little more than one third of the whole population of the city was either foreign born or had foreign born parents. It is impossible to understand the history of Baltimore without an appreciation of this recent migration from overseas, but very little research has been done on the subject, and less has been published. Alexandra Lee Levin has made a pioneer contribution to our knowledge of the late 19th century immigrant family in Baltimore, which is to say, the recent history of our city.

The subtitle of *The Szolds of Lombard Street* is meaningful, "A Baltimore Family, 1859-1909." Rabbi Benjamin Szold came to the city from Austria in 1859 with his bride, Sophie Schaar. The learned Dr. Szold ministered to the Oheb Shalom congregation for thirty-two years and achieved more than local fame for his piety and humanity. His sermons and writings were admired by people of all faiths, and he was regarded as a leading authority on the Old Testament. His eldest daughter, Henrietta, was one of the greatest women ever born in Baltimore. Linguist, scholar and teacher, her selfless devotion to the highest ideals of humanity was coupled with a legendary capacity for organization and administration. She founded the Hadassah, the Jewish women's Zionist organization. In 1920 at the age of sixty, she went to Palestine to help administer the Hadassah medical mission, and became heavily involved in religious, educational and social projects. In 1933, now seventy-three years old, she founded the Youth Aliyah, an organization for rescuing Jewish youngsters from the terrors of Nazism, and worked incessantly at the tremendous problems of their settlement in Palestine, their welfare and their education. Her great cause was youth, and her final achievement at the age of eighty-one was the founding of the Child and Youth Welfare Foundation in Palestine. Few

women, and indeed few men, have served humanity better than Henrietta Szold of Baltimore.

This book is intended to give meaning to her later accomplishments in terms of her youth, education and the influence of her family and city. We see her as the companion and amanuensis of Rabbi Szold, a teacher at the Misses Adams' school for young ladies, an enthusiastic amateur botanist, founder of a school for teaching English to Russian immigrants, a vigorous and articulate feminist, and finally, secretary of the Jewish Publication Society. We see her also as the eldest of five lively sisters involved in a variety of family complications and social life. The story is told largely from the personal correspondence of the Szold family and its friends.

The book was also intended to picture the process by which the European immigrant of the last half of the 19th century found his place in our society. A well-meaning but patronizing phrase, "the melting pot," has been applied to this process, implying a boiling down of values to some common denominator. The story of the Szold family corrects this stereotype. Benjamin and Sophie Szold added new dimensions to Baltimore's culture. The children drew strength from their parents' convictions, and knowledge and experience from the Baltimore environment. Out of this combination they welded characters of their own which in turn influenced the social environment. For those of intelligence and good will there was no melting into the common pot, but a higher synthesis which rewarded the community which had accepted them by improving it.

Miss Levin has met her dual obligation with humility and considerable literary skill. Her technique is that of the novelist, using excerpts from letters, reporting imaginary conversation and thoughts, and writing in the active tenses. She intrudes her own comments very seldom. The Szolds were indefatigable correspondents, and wrote with style, liveliness and at length. The author states that "a large wooden chest" of letters was her principal source. The historian wishes that she had supplied citations or at least a descriptive bibliography.

The book rings true, but the scale of tonal values is limited. We learn as much about the Szolds as can be expected from the letters of an educated and vivacious, but well-mannered family. There is much comedy and some tragedy, but no acrimony or violence and little disillusionment. The social historian would like to know if the Szolds ever felt snubbed or cheated, if they had enemies and how they regarded them. There are large areas of emotion not represented here. Perhaps the material does not supply the evi-

dence. We can at least thank Miss Levin for avoiding the fashionable psychoanalytic approach to biography.

It is more disappointing that neither politics nor religion play much part in the story. Rabbi Szold was an important figure in Jewish religious controversy at the time, and Henrietta gained her first renown as a writer and lecturer on the subject, but little of the substance of these conflicts is discussed. We do not even know if the Rabbi voted, let alone his views on the major political issues of the time. Henrietta certainly had strong feelings on social and political matters at a later date, but nothing in this book shows her early attitudes.

Nevertheless, this is a warm and ingratiating book. It supplements the two major biographies of Henrietta Szold by Marvin Lowenthal (1942) and Rose Zeitlin (1952) which are principally concerned with her Zionist work. It is also the only full-length book on a Baltimore immigrant family of the period, and I hope it will encourage others to work in this significant field.

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

The Peale Museum

Edward Randolph and the American Colonies, 1676-1703. By

MICHAEL GARIBALDI HALL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. xl, 241. \$5.

This significant study is deserving of careful attention from all of those, specialists and laymen alike, who seek to understand the true nature of the American colonial period; and the author is to be complimented for his diligent research, as well as for a most penetrating analysis of what may be appropriately termed 'the middle period' in our colonial story. Mr. Hall's book has been published for the Institute of American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, with the assistance of a grant from the Lilly Endowment, Incorporated.

From the date of Edward Randolph's first appearance in America in the year 1676, in the relatively innocuous role of a royal courier, it became immediately apparent that here was a man to reckon with,—in fact such an individual as the colonists had seldom, if ever before, encountered. They soon were to discover, moreover, that this visitor from London, despite unimpressive physical equipment and completely rude manners, possessed a boundless energy and courage, as well as an uncanny skill in collecting and sifting facts. These qualities, coupled with a selfless devotion to duty and an

unimpeachable personal life, served to make him a formidable antagonist of colonial governments and their officials.

Colonies, in Randolph's opinion, must never be allowed to operate as they pleased, but always subservient to, and in the interests of, the mother country. For, only in this relationship could a strong empire be created; and that was the paramount objective, he believed. It is, therefore, no accident of history that 'royal colonies,' in this period, tended to displace those of other classifications in the British imperial system. The precedent,—if one was needed for development of royal colonies had, in fact, long since been provided, in the case of Virginia, in 1624.

So it was that Randolph, even during his first short visit to Massachusetts, began energetically to ferret out evidence of irregularity and misconduct, no matter how trivial, thus affording a basis for putting the colony on the defensive and enabling the home government to offer some measure of justification for curtailing colonial autonomy and independence, whether for alleged violation of the provisions of its charter, or otherwise. Because the Puritan leaders of the Bay colony had gone far in acting according to their own judgment of rights and privileges, and because, too, many loose practices had crept in, it was not very difficult to discover grounds for a bill of indictment. Particularly, Randolph struck at the fundamental proposition that "the colonists had 'formed themselves into a Common Wealth,' a term understandably obnoxious to the court party," according to Hall.

It took considerable time, in this instance, to break the back of colonial resistance, and even more to acquaint London with the true nature of the situation, in order to persuade it to act firmly; but Randolph characteristically maintained an unrelenting pressure throughout the battle. In due course, therefore, proud Massachusetts Bay was forced to send emissaries to London to deal with his charges,—an act which was itself an admission that the colony was answerable to the royal authority. If the colonial leaders expected to escape with a light reprimand and thereafter to continue as they pleased, they were doomed to severe disappointment. For their enemy did not cease his attack until the colony had been brought, first, under the 'Dominion of New England,' and then, subsequently, within the royal colony of Massachusetts.

The indefatigability of this man—possibly his chief asset—was never more in evidence than when he was traveling, as he appeared almost incessantly to be doing, by land and by sea. Systematically he covered every part of the Atlantic seaboard and a goodly portion of the Caribbean, interspersed with numerous crossings and re-

crossings of the tedious and perilous water routes from the homeland to the new world. The result was that practically all of the American colonies came under his close personal scrutiny. Always, too, he was gleaning facts which would serve to make him the master of the situation and enable him to realize his objectives. Colonial edifices time after time toppled in the wake of his investigations, because usually, when he had finished with them, his knowledge about colonial matters was greater than even that of the colonists themselves.

Tirelessly thorough though he undoubtedly was, Randolph, when the occasion required, could move alertly and often with unexpected speed. His experiences in the Calvert colony of Maryland are an illustration in point. There, internal revolution in 1689, coupled with constitutional changes and the demise of the Stuart line at home, abruptly terminated the political independence of the proprietor and produced another royal colony, as well as the Anglican establishment. In the midst of these developments, as might be expected, the guiding hand of the Crown servant soon began to show, where, in the decade of the 1690's, he succeeded, notwithstanding all of his other burdens and responsibilities, in establishing himself in the powerful colonial council, close to the ear of the royal governor. Sir Lionel Copley, whom he hated and despised "as dishonest, corpulent, and sottish," soon died. With Sir Francis Nicholson, however, who succeeded Copley after a short interval, our testy Londoner became very influential indeed, as well as with Sir Edmund Andros and Sir Thomas Lawrence, both of whom figured prominently in the affairs of Maryland in this period. Each of these royal officials—including even Copley—was inclined to give Randolph a free rein, recognizing his "office of deputy auditor of crown revenues"; and the fact that there were others, less inclined, appeared not to make the slightest difference to him.

It is, perhaps, in keeping with the career of this tough and much feared customs officer, who eventually became surveyor general in North America, that, despite his loyal, effective and devoted service, he was destined to die a rejected, lonely, and broken man,—dismissed finally from the very position which he had so ably filled, by an ungrateful government. The truth remains, nonetheless, that no one in his day so completely controlled and dominated the American colonies as did Edward Randolph, or wrought more profound changes in the structure of colonial life. Because the author, through study of this man, has contributed to bringing into sharper focus the 'middle period' of colonial history,—a span of years that had so vital a part in shaping conditions leading to the

American Revolution, his efforts are worthy of our grateful commendation.

VERNE E. CHATELAIN

University of Maryland

The British Isles and the American Colonies: The Southern Plantations, 1748-1754. By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Revised Edition, 1960. xxxvi, 290. \$8.50.

Originally published in 1936, this work now appears, after thorough revision, as Volume II in the series entitled *The British Empire before the American Revolution*. The original volume was highly praised by reviewers. The present edition has the additional value of indicating considerable source material which was not available at the earlier date; this is especially noteworthy in the part concerning Africa.

The author devotes most attention to conditions in Virginia during the period under review, and after a corresponding survey of the position of Maryland, he presents a detailed analysis of the problems involved in their growth and export of tobacco. It is interesting to note that Professor Gipson has added the following judgments with reference to Maryland, in his new edition: "... its uniqueness among the southern colonies in 1750 rests on the fact it had acquired the dubious distinction of being the chief receptacle for those Englishmen transported to America as a penalty for criminal acts. Also, of all the colonies planted by the English in the New World in the seventeenth century, none had departed more fundamentally from one of the chief purposes of its founders than had Maryland."

After a comparison of conditions in the two Carolinas and in Georgia, the island colonies (including the Bermudas and the Bahamas) are examined at considerable length. In the light of present efforts to create a more comprehensive federation in the West Indies, this section has gained in significance. It will be recalled that, in 1748, the governor at Antigua was acting as governor of St. Christopher, Nevis and Montserrat, grouped as the Leeward Islands. However, the governor of Barbados was finding by 1750 that French successes prevented him from exercising jurisdiction in St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Vincent. An interesting sidelight on the area has been furnished by George Washington who visited Barbados with his brother Lawrence in 1751.

In the period under discussion, Jamaica was not only the largest

island possession of Great Britain in this hemisphere (after Newfoundland), but, in many other respects, was considered to be her most valuable colony. The development of British interests in Honduras and along the Mosquito Coast during this time, when they were treated as political dependencies of the government of Jamaica, gave added importance to the island's strategic position.

Professor Gipson emphasizes the common concern of the Caribbean colonies for an access to sugar markets and to a supply of slave labor. The question of the slave trade being of such vital significance to the "Southern Plantations" it is not surprising that his final chapter discusses the relations of the British Empire with "Guinea." Once again, competition with the French was so intense that the author, in describing the rivalry at Anamabo, in 1752, concludes: "Well might the Great War for the Empire have begun off the African coast at this juncture rather than at the forks of the Ohio two years later!"

PAUL R. LOCHER

*Neuilly-sur-Seine,
France*

Education in the Forming of American Society. By BERNARD BAILYN.

Chapel Hill: Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1960. xvi, 147. \$3.50.

This slim volume's two stimulating essays on the history of colonial education in America should delight all of those who have desired a truly historical approach to the study of that subject. In the first essay, Mr. Bailyn exposes the glaring inadequacies of the available histories of education and particularly details their failings concerning education in colonial America. Instead of dipping into the subject simply to select facts to be used to support various educational theories and practices, the author presents a brilliant survey of how and why the staid European educational inheritance was transformed into a vibrant social activity in the new world that encouraged colonial development and helped to form the American character.

Mr. Bailyn's second essay is bibliographical in nature and contains a superlative review of materials relevant to his subject. Both primary and secondary sources are succinctly described and evaluated. Also, innumerable opportunities for research are mentioned and any student beginning work in colonial education would be well-advised to consult them.

This book is the third in the Needs and Opportunities for Study series published by the Institute of Early American History and Culture and both the Institute and the author should be congratulated for this provocative and valuable work.

S. SYDNEY BRADFORD

National Park Service

Searching for Your Ancestors: The How and Why of Genealogy.

By GILBERT H. DOANE. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960. xvii, 198. \$3.95.

This book was written to serve as a practical guide to the individual who wishes to trace his ancestry, but who has had no experience in this sort of research: in other words, for the do-it-yourself genealogist.

The author recommends that the novice genealogist begin with his more immediate progenitors, working back from parents to grandparents to great grandparents and so on. The searcher should learn as much as he can by talking with relatives and friends of the family and by examining Bibles, letters, diaries and other family papers. He should then visit libraries with genealogical collections to look for such printed or manuscript materials as may already exist pertaining to the families in which he is interested. As the search progresses, the information obtained should be entered on a chart; several types are described. It is important also that every entry be carefully documented so that each bit of information can be evaluated and the original source relocated if necessary.

Having learned the names of at least some of his ancestors and where they lived, the would-be genealogist is now in a position to add other branches to his family tree by searching among town records, probate records (especially wills), census returns, military rosters, pension lists, church records, cemetery inscriptions and similar materials. An advantage of such official and semi-official sources of information is that they are almost invariably reliable and may be accepted without further proof; whereas, family traditions and printed genealogies are susceptible to error and must be carefully checked.

Several appendices appear at the end, comprising bibliographies of genealogical works and published lists of Revolutionary War soldiers, a summary of census records now available and a list of

states whose offices of vital statistics have records dating before 1900. There is also an index.

All in all it is apparent that no effort has been spared to make this book both useful and readable. It is written in a lively style and freely sprinkled with anecdotes, examples, hints and warnings. There is even a chapter on "How to be a D. A. R." and another advising on the preparations to be made before going abroad to trace European origins.

The only serious omission is the failure to take cognizance of the rapidly increasing importance of a number of state archival agencies as centers of genealogical research, notably in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota and Colorado. This failure may be due in part to the fact that the archival movement has had little effect in the New England area where it is obvious that the author has gained most of his experience. Also, the movement was in its infancy in 1937 when the book was first written. But to ignore the genealogical research facilities of state archives in 1960 when this revised edition was published is to deprive the reader of information that might save him a great deal of time and trouble.

GUST SKORDAS

*Hall of Records
Annapolis, Md.*

BOOKS RECEIVED

- John C. Calhoun Opportunist: A Reappraisal.* By GERALD M. CAPERS. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press. 1960. viii, 275. \$6.75.
- The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance 1776-1790.* By E. JAMES FERGUSON. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.) 1961. xvi, 358. \$7.50.
- The Right of Assembly and Association.* By GLENN ABERNATHY. Columbia, University of South Carolina Press. 1961. viii, 264. \$6.25.
- Massachusetts Colony to Commonwealth Documents on the Foundation of its Constitution, 1775-1780.* By ROBERT J. TAYLOR. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg.) 1961. xi, 166. \$2.
- Ghost Towns of Talbot County.* By JAMES C. MULLIKIN. Easton, Maryland: The Easton Publishing Company. 1961. 51. \$1.
- A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789.* By CHRISTOPHER COLLES. Edited by WALTER W. RISTOW. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1961. xii, 227, Maps. \$7.50.
- American Railroads.* By JOHN F. STOVER. (The Chicago History of American Civilization—Edited by DANIEL S. BOORSTIN.) Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. 1961. xiv, 302. \$5.
- Mississippi in the Confederacy: Vol. I. As They Saw It.* Edited by JOHN K. BETTERTH. xx, 319. Vol. II. *As Seen in Retrospect.* Edited by JAMES W. SILVER, xxvii, 362. Published for The Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi by Louisiana State University Press. 1961. \$5.95 each—\$10. the set.
- James Monroe Smith, Georgia Planter, Before Death and After.* By E. MERTON COULTER. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press. 1961. ix, 294. \$5.
- Adrienne: The Life of the Marquise de LaFayette.* By ANDRE MAUROIS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1961. xii, 483. \$7.95.
- The United Colonies of New England 1643-90.* By HENRY M. WARD. New York: The Vantage Press. 1961. 434. \$4.50.
- Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada 1961.* Compiled by CLEMENT M. SILVESTRO and SALLY ANN DAVIS. Madison, Wisconsin: The American Association for State and Local History. 1961. 111, \$1.50.

NOTES AND QUERIES

COVER PICTURE

View of Baltimore Looking South—This unusual view of the city was drawn by Moses Swett, a lithograph artist of the firm of Endicott and Swett who lived in Baltimore during the 1830's. It is a suitable companion piece to the account of life in Baltimore about the same time by John M. Gordon, published in this issue (SIDELIGHTS).

From the viewpoint of the yard of a house on high ground east of Jones's Falls, the picture shows the charm of the landscape when the urban spread had hardly begun and the bucolic aspect of the Falls where figures are shown wading or fishing. From left to right the principal objects are: the Merchant's Shot Tower (still standing); the steeple of Christ Episcopal Church, which stood just east of the Falls; the City Jail, surrounded by a wall, only two blocks or so from the observer; the Gay Street Shot Tower, long since destroyed; the dome of Benjamin H. Latrobe's Merchants Exchange; the delicate steeple of the German Reformed Church in Second Street, now approximately Water Street; in the center the twin towers of the First Presbyterian Church, facing south on Fayette Street, at Guilford Avenue; Barnum's City Hotel, with flags; the old Court House, facing north on Lexington Street near Calvert; above the trees, the tower of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, built in 1817 and burned in 1854; the Catholic Cathedral, also by Latrobe, farther to the right; and the Washington Monument towering above the forest of Howard's Park.

Jones's Falls at this time furnished water power for many mills. "The mills and factories on this small stream in the short distance of 9 or 10 miles, amounted to 17," says an early guide book, "9 flour mills, 4 grist mills, one large powder mill, 2 cotton factories and one calico printing factory." Five mills, including three for flour, were within the city limits, that is, south of North Avenue. The long building in the center is probably one of the later mills in which had been incorporated an earlier mill (gable roof), perhaps Burgess' Mill. About 1800, according to notes supplied by Mr. William B. Marye, there was a distillery at or near this spot.

Swett learned the trade of lithographer in Boston, but appears in

the Baltimore Directory for 1831 and a few years later in Washington. He was responsible for some of the Currier & Ives prints, and did other work in this area. The print was published by Nathaniel Hickman, a bookseller on Baltimore Street, who later served as colonel of the First Maryland Infantry and commanding officer of the Fifth Regiment, but the actual lithograph was made in the Washington shop of P. Haas. The reproduction is from the copy in the Pratt Library's Cator Collection of Baltimore Prints. Only four copies, all uncolored, are accounted for. The size of the print is $13\frac{13}{16}$ " x $21\frac{9}{16}$ ".

JAMES W. FOSTER

Society of Colonial Wars Award—A prize of five hundred dollars (\$500) will be given for the best manuscript on colonial history of Maryland, or some phase thereof, in the period between the founding of Jamestown and the Battle of Lexington. The closing date is October 1, 1963, and the contest is open to college and university seniors, graduate students and other writers qualified by experience and training. For rules and other particulars interested persons should write to Mr. Braxton Dallam Mitchell, Secretary, Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maryland, Mt. Royal and Guilford Aves., Baltimore 2, Md.

Minutes of The Anacreontic Society—The Anacreontic Society of Baltimore, which flourished in the 1820's, is succinctly described in a footnote to *The Diary of Robert Gilmor*, himself a member (*Md. Hist. Mag.* XVII, 231, 244). It was, he said, "an association of private gentlemen of various professions and walks in life" who, being fond of music, met each Tuesday at 7 P. M. both to hear and to make music. Membership was limited and dues for the season were \$10. Brandy and water and hot whiskey punch were served during the musicales; and a cold supper at 10 P. M. At first the meetings were held at the house of Arthur Clifton, a teacher of music, but later (before 1827) at Barnum's Hotel because certain of the members did not like "the manner in which Mr. Clifton conducted the affairs of the Society."

I have recently acquired the manuscript minute book of the Anacreontic Society for the period October 9, 1823-1826, though entries after November 1824 are few. Much of it consists merely

in lists of members or their favorite "glees," but it contains a few matters of more general interest, including a brief history of a predecessor society, that seem worthy of publication.

The minute book is a pocket-size volume about $7\frac{1}{4}$ by 4 inches, bound in leather and boards. The front cover bears the legend in ink: "Minute book / Anacreontic Society / October-1823 / A. Clifton / Secretary." The back cover bears the name "J. L. Coale" in ink. Some 85 pages contain entries, and an approximately equal number remain blank.

EDWARD G. HOWARD

1308 Bolton St., Baltimore 17, Md.

Hewitt-Booth-Hush—Wanted: the names of parents of Benjamin Hewett (Hewitt) and wife Elizabeth, in St. Mary's County about 1797. They were parents of Susan Pracilla (Hewett) Smith, wife of Rev. John Smith of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist-Episcopal Church, and of John Hewett and Mary (Hewett) Dent.

Also, who were the parents of Joseph Booth (Boothe), living in St. Mary's County about 1795, and his wife before 1801? They were parents of Claissa (Clarisy) Hewett, wife of John Hewett; and also the parents of Mary H. Brown and grandparents of Mary H. Brown.

Also wanted: the parents of Ann Elizabeth (Chival) Hewitt born September 10, 1834 and married to Joshua Soul (Soule) Hewitt May 27, 1852 in St. Mary's County.

Also parents of George Hush and Elizabeth (Connelly) Hush, married October 25, 1821, in Baltimore at Old Light St. Church.

Also the name of the wife of Vincent Hughes of Baltimore in 1825.

Information is also sought about the Bibles belonging to the Hewett (Hewitt), Chival and Booth (Boothe) families of St. Mary's Co.

V. J. HUGHES

1411 Fleet St., Baltimore 31, Md.

Tilghman—I would appreciate hearing from members of the Tilghman Family, as I am now revising my 1945 book on the family.

Ringgold—I am working on a manuscript covering the Ringgold

Family from 1650 to date. I would like to hear from members of this family.

Goldsborough—I am also doing a manuscript on the Goldsborough Family and would appreciate hearing from members of the family.

STEPHEN F. TILLMAN, Col. AUS (Ret.)
3212 Cummings Lane, Chevy Chase 15, Md.

Johns—It has become my painful duty to announce that the Welsh ancestry of Richard Johns (the 'Johns' of Johns Hopkins), born in Bristol, England, in 1645 and brought to Virginia as a boy, later to settle in Upper "Cliffs" of Calvert County, ca. 1660, is *absolutely disproved* as it is set forth in the records of the Colonial Dames of America, Chapter One; and I must relegate to the category of *pure speculation* the right to the ancestry set forth in the "Chart of the Welch Ancestry of the Johns Family." I am in possession of documents which disallow the line as now proposed.

Alleged to be his ancestry is the Johnes Family of Dolau Cothy "Hall(?)," Carmarthenshire, Wales. I have considerable information about this branch of the ancient family (now extinct) in Wales, but not enough to establish the line.

I would be interested in corresponding with anyone who may have further information which will lead to the establishment of the line, or who may have access to the manuscripts and documents in the National Library of Wales, or who may know the whereabouts of the book: "Dolau Cothi Pedigree," by John Rowland, which is known to exist but no copy can be found either at Peabody or the Library of Congress.

G. RODNEY CROWTHER, III
4411 Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase 15, Md.

Clagett—I am preparing a book on the Clagett-Claggett family of Maryland and its descendants. I would be most grateful to have any relevant information which has not appeared in well-known published sources. I am interested in full genealogical data and substantial biographical material on all descendants of Clagetts in either the male or the female line.

BRICE M. CLAGETT
St. Albans School, Washington 16, D. C.

CONTRIBUTORS

EDWARD C. CARTER, II of Paoli, Pennsylvania is a scholar in early Maryland and American history. He is now matriculating at the graduate school at Bryn Mawr College. He has taught at the University of Delaware and Andover College.

S. SYDNEY BRADFORD was director of the research on the restoration of Fort McHenry and one of the co-authors of the series *Fort McHenry, 1814*, appearing in this *Magazine* (1959). Author of several scholarly articles, he is at present curator of the Morristown National Historical Park, National Park Service.

KENNETH L. CARROLL is Professor of Religion at Southern Methodist University.

DOUGLAS H. GORDON is a prominent member of the Society, author of many reviews and articles on Maryland history, and student of French literature.

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Dr. Ira Remsen, professor of chemistry, was elected president of Johns Hopkins University.—*June 3.*

William J. Glover, Jr., of Canton, then in Baltimore Co., swam across the Bay from Tolchester to River View Park, 23 miles. Time: 16 hrs., 10 min.—*June 25.*

Judge William H. Taft was appointed first civil governor of the Philippines by President McKinley.—*July 4.*

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